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ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

TABLE

OF THE

HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

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Being the Correspondence of the Lunar Years of the Mahommedans with the Solar Years of the Christians, from the Hegira, or Flight of Mahomet, July 15. A.D. 622, to A.D. 1500.

N. B. *Years thus marked * are Embolical.*

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
1	July 15.	622	July 3.	623
*2	— 4.	623	June 22.	624
3	June 23.	624	— 13.	625
4	— 14.	625	May 31.	626
*5	— 1.	626	— 21.	627
6	May 22.	627	— 9.	628
*7	— 10.	628	April 24.	629
8	April 30.	629	— 18.	630
9	— 19.	630	— 7.	631
*10	— 8.	631	Mar. 27.	632
11	Mar. 28.	632	— 16.	633
12	— 17.	633	— 5.	634
*13	— 6.	634	Feb. 23.	635
14	Feb. 24.	635	— 12.	636
15	— 13.	636	Jan. 31.	637
*16	— 1.	637	— 21.	638
17	Jan. 22.	638	— 10.	639
*18	— 11.	639	Dec. 31.	639
19	— 1.	640	— 19.	640
20	Dec. 20.	640	— 8.	641
*21	— 9.	641	Nov 28.	642
22	Nov. 29.	642	— 17.	643
23	— 18.	643	— 5.	644
*24	— 6.	644	Oct. 26.	645
25	Oct. 27.	645	— 15.	646
*26	— 16.	646	— 5.	647
27	— 6.	647	Sept. 23.	648
28	Sept. 24.	648	— 12.	649
*29	— 13.	649	— 2.	650
30	— 3.	650	Aug 22.	651
31	Aug. 23.	651	— 10.	652
*32	— 11.	652	July 31.	653
33	— 1.	653	— 20.	654
34	July 21.	654	— 9.	655
*35	— 10.	655	June 28.	656
36	June 29.	656	— 17.	657
*37	— 18.	657	— 7.	658
38	— 8.	658	May 27.	659
39	May 28.	659	— 15.	660
*40	— 16.	660	— 5.	661
41	— 6.	661	April 24.	662
42	April 25.	662	— 13.	663
*43	— 14.	663	— 2.	664
44	— 3.	664	Mar. 22.	665
45	Mar. 23.	665	— 11.	666
*46	— 12.	666	— 1.	667
47	Mar. 2.	667	Feb. 18.	668
*48	Feb. 19.	668	— 7.	669
49	— 8.	669	Jan. 27.	670
50	Jan. 28.	670	— 16.	671
*51	— 17.	671	— 6.	672
52	— 7.	672	Dec. 24.	672
53	Dec. 25.	672	— 14.	673
*54	— 15.	673	— 4.	674
55	— 5.	674	Nov. 23.	675
*56	Nov. 24.	675	— 12.	676
57	— 13.	676	— 1.	677
58	— 2.	677	Oct. 21.	678
*59	Oct. 22.	678	— 11.	679
60	— 12.	679	Sept. 29.	680
61	Sept. 30.	680	— 18.	681
*62	— 19.	681	— 8.	682
63	— 9.	682	Aug. 28.	683
64	Aug. 29.	683	— 16.	684
*65	— 17.	684	— 6.	685
66	— 7.	685	July 26.	686
*67	July 27.	686	— 16.	687
68	— 17.	687	— 4.	688
69	— 5.	688	June 23.	689
*70	June 24.	689	— 13.	690
71	— 14.	690	— 2.	691
72	— 3.	691	May 21.	692
*73	May 22.	692	— 11.	693
74	— 12.	693	April 30.	694
75	— 1.	694	— 19.	695
*76	April 20.	695	— 8.	696
77	— 9.	696	Mar. 28.	697
*78	Mar. 29.	697	— 18.	698
79	— 19.	698	— 7.	699
80	— 8.	699	Feb. 24.	700
*81	Feb. 25.	700	— 13.	701
82	— 14.	701	— 2.	702
83	— 3.	702	Jan. 22.	703
*84	Jan. 23.	703	— 12.	704
85	— 13.	704	Dec. 31.	704
*86	— 1.	705	— 21.	705
87	Dec. 22.	705	— 10.	706
88	— 11.	706	Nov. 29.	707
*89	Nov. 30.	707	— 18.	708
90	— 19.	708	— 7	709
91	— 8.	709	Oct. 27.	710
*92	Oct. 28.	710	— 17.	711

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D
93	Oct. 18.	711	Oct. 5.	712
94	— 6.	712	Sept. 24.	713
*95	Sept. 25.	713	— 14.	714
96	— 15.	714	— 3.	715
*97	— 4.	715	Aug. 23.	716
98	Aug. 24.	716	— 12.	717
99	— 13.	717	— 1.	718
100	— 2.	718	July 22.	719
*101	July 23.	719	— 10.	720
102	— 11.	720	June 29.	721
*103	June 30.	721	— 19.	722
104	— 20.	722	— 8.	723
105	— 9.	723	May 27.	724
*106	May 28.	724	— 17.	725
107	— 18.	725	— 6.	726
*108	— 7.	726	April 26.	727
109	April 27.	727	— 14.	728
110	— 15.	728	— 3.	729
*111	— 4.	729	Mar. 24.	730
112	Mar. 25.	730	— 13.	731
113	— 14.	731	— 1.	732
*114	— 2.	732	Feb. 19.	733
115	Feb. 20.	733	— 8.	734
*116	— 9.	734	Jan. 29.	735
117	Jan. 30.	735	— 18.	736
118	— 19.	736	— 6.	737
*119	— 7.	737	Dec. 27.	737
120	Dec. 28.	737	— 16.	738
121	— 17.	738	— 5.	739
*122	— 6.	739	Nov. 24.	740
123	Nov. 25.	740	— 13.	741
124	— 14.	741	— 2.	742
*125	— 3.	742	Oct. 23.	743
126	Oct. 24.	743	— 11.	744
*127	— 12.	744	— 1.	745
128	— 2.	745	Sept. 20.	746
129	Sept. 21.	746	— 9.	747
*130	— 10.	747	Aug. 29.	748
131	Aug. 30.	748	— 18.	749
132	— 19.	749	— 7.	750
*133	— 8.	750	July 28.	751
134	July 29.	751	— 16.	752
135	— 17.	752	— 5.	753
*136	— 6.	753	June 25.	754
137	June 26.	754	— 14.	755
*138	— 15.	755	— 3.	756
139	— 4.	756	May 23.	757
140	May 24.	757	— 12.	758
*141	— 13.	758	— 2.	759
142	— 3.	759	April 20.	760
143	April 21.	760	— 9.	761
*144	— 10.	761	Mar. 30.	762
145	Mar. 31.	762	— 19.	763
*146	— 20.	763	— 8.	764
147	— 9.	764	Feb. 25.	765
148	Feb. 26.	765	— 14.	766
*149	— 15.	766	— 4.	767
150	— 5.	767	Jan. 25.	768
151	Jan. 26.	768	— 12.	769
*152	— 13.	769	— 2.	770
153	— 3.	770	Dec. 22.	770
154	Dec. 23.	770	— 11.	771
*155	— 12.	771	Nov. 30.	772
156	— 1.	772	— 19.	773

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
*157	Nov. 20.	773	Nov. 9.	774
158	— 10.	774	Oct. 29.	775
159	Oct. 30.	775	— 17.	776
*160	— 18.	776	— 7.	777
161	— 8.	777	Sept. 26.	778
162	Sept. 27.	778	— 15.	779
*163	— 16.	779	— 4.	780
164	— 5.	780	Aug. 24.	781
165	Aug. 25.	781	— 13.	782
*166	— 14.	782	— 3.	783
167	— 4.	783	July 22.	784
*168	July 23.	784	— 12.	785
169	— 13.	785	— 1.	786
170	— 2.	786	June 20.	787
*171	June 21.	787	— 9.	788
172	— 10.	788	May 29.	789
173	May 30.	789	— 18.	790
*174	— 19.	790	— 8.	791
175	— 9.	791	April 26.	792
*176	April 27.	792	— 16.	793
177	— 17.	793	— 5.	794
178	— 6.	794	Mar. 25.	795
*179	Mar. 26.	795	— 14.	796
180	— 15.	796	— 3.	797
181	— 4.	797	Feb. 20.	798
*182	Feb. 21.	798	— 10.	799
183	— 11.	799	Jan. 30.	800
184	Jan. 31.	800	— 18.	801
*185	— 19.	801	— 8.	802
186	— 9.	802	Dec. 28.	802
*187	Dec. 29.	802	— 18.	803
188	— 19.	803	— 6.	804
189	— 7.	804	Nov. 25.	805
*190	Nov. 26.	805	— 15.	806
191	— 16.	806	— 4.	807
192	— 5.	807	Oct. 23.	808
*193	Oct. 24.	808	— 13.	809
194	— 14.	809	— 2.	810
195	— 3.	810	Sept. 21.	811
*196	Sept. 22.	811	— 10.	812
197	— 11.	812	Aug. 30.	813
*198	Aug. 31.	813	— 20.	814
199	— 21.	814	— 9.	815
200	— 10.	815	July 28.	816
*201	July 29.	816	— 18.	817
202	— 19.	817	— 7.	818
203	— 8.	818	June 26.	819
*204	June 27.	819	— 15.	820
205	— 16.	820	— 4.	821
*206	— 5.	821	May 25.	822
207	May 26.	822	— 14.	823
208	— 15.	823	— 2.	824
*209	— 3.	824	April 22.	825
210	April 23.	825	— 11.	826
211	— 12.	826	Mar. 31.	827
*212	— 1.	827	— 20.	828
213	Mar. 21.	828	— 9.	829
214	— 10.	829	Feb. 26.	830
*215	Feb. 27.	830	— 16.	831
216	— 17.	831	— 5.	832
*217	— 6.	832	Jan. 25.	833
218	Jan. 26.	833	— 14.	834
219	— 15.	834	— 3.	835
220	— 4.	835	Dec. 24.	835

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
221	Dec. 25.	835	Dec. 12.	836
222	— 13.	836	— 1.	837
*223	— 2.	837	Nov. 21.	838
224	Nov. 22.	838	— 10.	839
225	— 11.	839	Oct. 29.	840
*226	Oct. 30.	840	— 19.	841
227	— 20.	841	— 8.	842
*228	— 9.	842	Sept. 28.	843
229	Sept. 29.	843	— 16.	844
230	— 17.	844	— 5.	845
*231	— 6.	845	Aug. 26.	846
232	Aug. 27.	846	— 15.	847
233	— 16.	847	— 3.	848
*234	— 4.	848	July 24.	849
235	July 5.	849	— 13.	850
*236	— 14.	850	— 3.	851
237	— 4.	851	June 21.	852
238	June 22.	852	— 10.	853
*239	— 11.	853	May 31.	854
240	— 1.	854	— 20.	855
241	May 21.	855	— 8.	856
*242	— 9.	856	April 28.	857
243	April 29.	857	— 17.	858
244	— 18.	858	— 6.	859
*245	— 7.	859	Mar. 26.	860
246	Mar. 27.	860	— 15.	861
*247	— 16.	861	— 5.	862
248	— 6.	862	Feb. 22.	863
249	Feb. 23.	863	— 11.	864
*250	— 12.	864	Jan. 31.	865
251	— 1.	865	— 20.	866
252	Jan. 21.	866	— 9.	867
*253	— 10.	867	Dec. 30.	867
254	Dec. 31.	867	— 18.	868
255	— 19.	868	— 7.	869
*256	— 8.	869	Nov. 27.	870
257	Nov. 28.	870	— 16.	871
*258	— 17.	871	— 5.	872
259	— 6.	872	Oct. 25.	873
260	Oct. 26.	873	— 14.	874
*261	— 15.	874	— 4.	875
262	— 5.	875	Sept. 22.	876
263	Sept. 23.	876	— 11.	877
*264	— 12.	877	— 1.	878
265	— 2.	878	Aug. 21.	879
*266	Aug. 22.	879	— 10.	880
267	— 11.	880	July 30.	881
268	July 31.	881	— 19.	882
*269	— 20.	882	— 9.	883
270	— 10.	883	June 27.	884
271	June 28.	884	— 16.	885
*272	— 17.	885	— 6.	886
273	— 7.	886	May 26.	887
274	May 27.	887	— 14.	888
*275	— 15.	888	— 4.	889
276	— 5.	889	April 23.	890
*277	April 24.	890	— 13.	891
278	— 14.	891	— 1.	892
279	— 2.	892	Mar. 21.	893
*280	Mar. 22.	893	— 11.	894
281	— 12.	894	Feb. 28.	895
282	— 1.	895	— 17.	896
*283	Feb. 18.	896	— 6.	897
284	— 7.	897	Jan. 26.	898
285	Jan. 27.	898	Jan. 15.	899
*286	— 16.	899	— 5.	900
287	— 6.	900	Dec. 24.	900
*288	Dec. 25.	900	— 14.	901
289	— 15.	901	— 3.	902
290	— 4.	902	Nov. 22.	903
*291	Nov. 23.	903	— 11.	904
292	— 12.	904	Oct. 31.	905
293	— 1.	905	— 20.	906
*294	Oct. 21.	906	— 10.	907
295	— 11.	907	Sept. 28.	908
*296	Sept. 29.	908	— 18.	909
297	— 19.	909	— 7.	910
298	— 8.	910	Aug. 27.	911
*299	Aug. 28.	911	— 16.	912
300	— 17.	912	— 5.	913
301	— 6.	913	July 25.	914
*302	July 26.	914	— 15.	915
303	— 16.	915	— 3.	916
304	— 4.	916	June 22.	917
*305	June 23.	917	— 12.	918
306	— 13.	918	— 1.	919
*307	— 2.	919	May 21.	920
308	May 22.	920	— 10.	921
309	— 11.	921	April 29.	922
*310	April 30.	922	— 19.	922
311	— 20.	923	— 7.	924
312	— 8.	924	Mar. 27.	925
*313	Mar. 28.	925	— 17.	926
314	— 18.	926	— 6.	927
315	— 7.	927	Feb. 23.	928
*316	Feb. 24.	928	— 12.	929
317	— 13.	929	— 1.	930
*318	— 2.	930	Jan. 22.	931
319	Jan. 23.	931	— 11.	932
320	— 12.	932	Dec. 30.	932
*321	Dec. 31.	932	— 20.	933
322	— 21.	933	— 9.	934
323	— 10.	934	Nov. 28.	935
*324	Nov. 29.	935	— 17.	936
325	— 18.	936	— 6.	937
*326	— 7.	937	Oct. 27.	938
327	Oct. 28.	938	— 16.	939
328	— 17.	939	— 4.	940
*329	— 5.	940	Sept. 24.	941
330	Sept. 25.	941	— 13.	942
331	— 14.	942	— 2.	943
*332	— 3.	943	Aug. 22.	944
333	Aug. 23.	944	— 11.	945
334	— 12.	945	July 31.	946
*335	— 1.	946	— 21.	947
336	July 22.	947	— 9.	948
*337	— 10.	948	June 29.	949
338	June 30.	949	— 18.	950
339	— 19.	950	— 7.	951
*340	— 8.	951	May 27.	952
341	May 28.	952	— 16.	953
342	— 17.	953	— 3.	954
*343	— 4.	954	April 25.	955
344	April 26.	955	— 13.	956
345	— 14.	956	— 2.	957
*346	— 3.	957	Mar. 23.	958
347	Mar. 24.	958	— 12.	959
*348	— 13.	959	— 1.	960

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
349	Mar. 2.	960	Feb. 18.	961
350	Feb. 19.	961	— 7.	962
*351	— 8.	962	Jan. 28.	963
352	Jan. 29.	963	— 17.	964
353	— 18.	964	— 5.	965
*354	— 6.	965	Dec. 26.	965
355	Dec. 27.	965	— 15.	966
356	— 16.	966	— 5.	967
*357	— 6.	967	Nov. 23.	968
358	Nov. 24.	968	— 12.	969
*359	— 13.	969	— 2.	970
360	— 3.	970	Oct. 22.	971
361	Oct. 23.	971	— 10.	972
*362	— 11.	972	Sept. 30.	973
363	— 1.	973	— 19.	974
364	Sept. 20.	974	— 8.	975
*365	— 9.	975	Aug. 28.	976
366	Aug. 29.	976	— 17.	977
*367	— 18.	977	— 7.	978
368	— 8.	978	July 27.	979
369	July 28.	979	— 15.	980
*370	— 16.	980	— 5.	981
371	— 6.	981	June 24.	982
372	June 25.	982	— 13.	983
*373	— 14.	983	— 2.	984
374	— 3.	984	May 22.	985
375	May 23.	985	— 11.	986
*376	— 12.	986	— 1.	987
377	— 2.	987	April 19.	988
*378	April 20.	988	— 9.	989
379	— 10.	989	Mar. 29.	990
380	Mar. 30.	990	— 18.	991
*381	— 19.	991	— 7.	992
382	— 8.	992	Feb. 24.	993
383	Feb. 25.	993	— 13.	994
*384	— 14.	994	— 3.	995
385	— 4.	995	Jan. 23.	996
*386	Jan. 24.	996	— 12.	997
387	— 13.	997	— 1.	998
388	— 1.	998	Dec. 21.	998
*389	Dec. 22.	998	— 11.	999
390	— 12.	999	Nov. 29.	1000
391	Nov. 30.	1000	— 18.	1001
*392	— 19.	1001	— 8.	1002
393	— 9.	1002	Oct. 28.	1003
394	Oct. 29.	1003	— 16.	1004
*395	— 17.	1004	— 6.	1005
396	— 7.	1005	Sept. 25.	1006
*397	Sept. 26.	1006	— 15.	1007
398	— 16.	1007	— 3.	1008
399	— 4.	1008	Aug. 23.	1009
400	Aug. 24.	1009	— 13.	1010
401	— 14.	1010	— 2.	1011
402	— 3.	1011	July 21.	1012
*403	July 22.	1012	— 11.	1013
404	— 12.	1013	June 30.	1014
405	— 1.	1014	— 19.	1015
*406	June 20.	1015	— 8.	1016
407	— 9.	1016	May 28.	1017
*408	May 29.	1017	— 18.	1018
409	— 19.	1018	— 7.	1019
410	— 8.	1019	April 25.	1020
411	April 26.	1020	— 15.	1021
412	— 16.	1021	— 4.	1022

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
413	April 5.	1022	Mar. 24.	1023
*414	Mar. 25.	1023	— 13.	1024
415	— 14.	1024	— 2.	1025
*416	— 3.	1025	Feb. 20.	1026
417	Feb. 21.	1026	— 9.	1027
418	— 10.	1027	Jan. 29.	1028
*419	Jan. 30.	1028	— 18.	1029
420	— 19.	1029	— 7.	1030
421	— 8.	1030	Dec. 27.	1030
*422	Dec. 28.	1030	— 17.	1031
423	— 18.	1031	— 5.	1032
424	— 6.	1032	Nov. 24.	1033
*425	Nov. 25.	1033	— 14.	1034
426	— 15.	1034	— 3.	1035
*427	— 4.	1035	Oct. 23.	1036
428	Oct. 24.	1036	— 12.	1037
429	— 13.	1037	— 1.	1038
*430	— 2.	1038	Sept. 21.	1039
431	Sept. 22.	1039	— 9.	1040
432	— 10.	1040	Aug. 29.	1041
*433	Aug. 30.	1041	— 19.	1042
434	— 20.	1042	— 8.	1043
435	— 9.	1043	July 27.	1044
*436	July 28.	1044	— 17.	1045
437	— 18.	1045	— 6.	1046
*438	— 7.	1046	June 26.	1047
439	June 27.	1047	— 14.	1048
440	— 15.	1048	— 3.	1049
*441	— 4.	1049	May 24.	1050
442	May 25.	1050	— 13.	1051
443	— 14.	1051	— 1.	1052
*444	— 2.	1052	April 21.	1053
445	April 22.	1053	— 10.	1054
*446	— 11.	1054	Mar. 31.	1055
447	— 1.	1055	— 19.	1056
448	Mar. 20.	1056	— 8.	1057
*449	— 9.	1057	Feb. 26.	1058
450	Feb. 27.	1058	— 15.	1059
451	— 16.	1059	— 4.	1060
*452	— 5.	1060	Jan. 24.	1061
453	Jan. 25.	1061	— 13.	1062
454	— 14.	1062	— 2.	1063
*455	— 3.	1063	Dec. 23.	1063
456	Dec. 24.	1063	— 11.	1064
*457	— 12.	1064	— 1.	1065
458	— 2.	1065	Nov. 20.	1066
459	Nov. 21.	1066	— 9.	1067
*460	— 10.	1067	Oct. 29.	1068
461	Oct. 30.	1068	— 18.	1069
462	— 19.	1069	— 7.	1070
*463	— 8.	1070	Sept. 27.	1071
464	Sept. 28.	1071	— 15.	1072
465	— 16.	1072	— 4.	1073
*466	— 5.	1073	Aug. 25.	1074
467	Aug. 26.	1074	— 14.	1075
*468	— 15.	1075	— 3.	1076
469	— 4.	1076	July 23.	1077
470	July 24.	1077	— 12.	1078
*471	— 13.	1078	— 2.	1079
472	— 3.	1079	June 20.	1080
473	June 21.	1080	— 9.	1081
*474	— 10.	1081	May 30.	1082
475	May 31.	1082	— 19.	1083
*476	— 20.	1083	— 8.	1084

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
477	May 9.	1084	Apr. 27.	1085
478	Apr. 28.	1085	— 16.	1086
*479	— 17.	1086	— 6.	1087
480	— 7.	1087	Mar. 25.	1088
481	Mar. 26.	1088	— 14.	1089
*482	— 15.	1089	— 4.	1090
483	— 5.	1090	Feb. 21.	1091
484	Feb. 22.	1091	— 10.	1092
*485	— 11.	1092	Jan. 30.	1093
486	Jan. 31.	1093	— 19.	1094
*487	— 20.	1094	— 9.	1095
488	— 10.	1095	Dec. 29.	1095
489	Dec. 30.	1095	— 17.	1096
*490	— 18.	1096	— 7.	1097
491	— 8.	1097	Nov. 26.	1098
492	Nov. 27.	1098	— 15.	1099
*493	— 16.	1099	— 4.	1100
494	— 5.	1100	Oct. 24.	1101
495	Oct. 25.	1101	— 13.	1102
*496	— 14.	1102	— 3.	1103
497	— 4.	1103	Sept. 21.	1104
*498	Sept. 22.	1104	— 11.	1105
499	— 12.	1105	Aug. 31.	1106
500	— 1.	1106	— 20.	1107
*501	Aug. 21.	1107	— 9.	1108
502	— 10.	1108	July 29.	1109
503	July 30.	1109	— 18.	1110
*504	— 19.	1110	— 8.	1111
505	— 9.	1111	June 26.	1112
*506	June 27.	1112	— 16.	1113
507	— 17.	1113	— 5.	1114
508	— 6.	1114	May 25.	1115
*509	May 26.	1115	— 14.	1116
510	— 15.	1116	— 3.	1117
511	— 4.	1117	Apr. 22.	1118
*512	Apr. 23.	1118	— 12.	1119
513	— 13.	1119	Mar. 31.	1120
514	— 1.	1120	— 20.	1121
*515	Mar. 21.	1121	— 10.	1122
516	— 11.	1122	Feb. 27.	1123
*517	Feb. 28.	1123	— 17.	1124
518	— 18.	1124	— 5.	1125
519	— 6.	1125	Jan. 25.	1126
*520	Jan. 26.	1126	— 15.	1127
521	— 16.	1127	— 4.	1128
522	— 5.	1128	Dec. 23.	1128
*523	Dec. 24.	1128	— 13.	1129
524	— 14.	1129	— 2.	1130
525	— 3.	1130	Nov. 21.	1131
*526	Nov. 22.	1131	— 10.	1132
527	— 11.	1132	Oct. 30.	1133
*528	Oct. 31.	1133	— 20.	1134
529	— 21.	1134	— 9.	1135
530	— 10.	1135	Sept. 27.	1136
*531	Sept. 28.	1136	— 17.	1137
532	— 18.	1137	— 6.	1138
533	— 7.	1138	Aug. 26.	1139
*534	Aug. 27.	1139	— 15.	1140
535	— 16.	1140	— 4.	1141
*536	— 5.	1141	July 25.	1142
537	July 26.	1142	— 14.	1143
538	— 15.	1143	— 2.	1144
*539	— 3.	1144	June 22.	1145
540	June 23.	1145	— 11.	1146
541	June 12.	1146	May 31.	1147
*542	— 1.	1147	— 20.	1148
543	May 21.	1148	— 9.	1149
544	— 10.	1149	Apr. 28.	1150
*545	Apr. 29.	1150	— 18.	1151
546	— 19.	1151	— 6.	1152
*547	— 7.	1152	Mar. 27.	1153
548	Mar. 28.	1153	— 16.	1154
549	— 17.	1154	— 5.	1155
*550	— 6.	1155	Feb. 23.	1156
551	Feb. 24.	1156	— 11.	1157
552	— 12.	1157	Jan. 31.	1158
*553	— 1.	1158	— 21.	1159
554	Jan. 22.	1159	— 10.	1160
555	— 11.	1160	Dec. 29.	1160
*556	Dec. 30.	1160	— 19.	1161
557	— 20.	1161	— 8.	1162
*558	— 9.	1162	Nov. 28.	1163
559	Nov. 29.	1163	— 16.	1164
560	— 17.	1164	— 5.	1165
*561	— 6.	1165	Oct. 26.	1166
562	Oct. 27.	1166	— 15.	1167
563	— 16.	1167	— 3.	1168
*564	— 4.	1168	Sept. 23.	1169
565	Sept. 24.	1169	— 12.	1170
*566	— 13.	1170	— 2.	1171
567	— 3.	1171	Aug. 21.	1172
568	Aug. 22.	1172	— 10.	1173
*569	— 11.	1173	July 31.	1174
570	— 1.	1174	— 20.	1175
571	July 21.	1175	— 8.	1176
*572	— 9.	1176	June 28.	1177
573	June 29.	1177	— 17.	1178
574	— 18.	1178	— 6.	1179
*575	— 7.	1179	May 26.	1180
576	May 27.	1180	— 15.	1181
*577	— 16.	1181	— 5.	1182
578	— 6.	1182	Apr. 24.	1183
579	Apr. 25.	1183	— 12.	1184
*580	— 13.	1184	— 2.	1185
581	— 3.	1185	Mar. 22.	1186
582	Mar. 23.	1186	— 11.	1187
*583	— 12.	1187	Feb. 29.	1188
584	— 1.	1188	— 17.	1189
585	Feb. 18.	1189	— 6.	1190
*586	— 7.	1190	Jan. 27.	1191
587	Jan. 28.	1191	— 16.	1192
*588	— 17.	1192	— 5.	1193
589	— 6.	1193	Dec. 25.	1193
590	Dec. 26.	1193	— 14.	1194
*591	— 15.	1194	— 4.	1195
592	— 5.	1195	Nov. 22.	1196
593	Nov. 23.	1196	— 11.	1197
*594	— 12.	1197	— 1.	1198
595	— 2.	1198	Oct. 21.	1199
*596	Oct. 22.	1199	— 10.	1200
597	— 11.	1200	Sept. 29.	1201
598	Sept. 30.	1201	— 18.	1202
*599	— 19.	1202	— 8.	1203
600	— 9.	1203	Aug. 27.	1204
601	Aug. 28.	1204	— 16.	1205
*602	— 17.	1205	— 6.	1206
603	— 7.	1206	July 26.	1207
604	July 27.	1207	— 14.	1208

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
*605	July 15.	1208	July 4.	1209
606	— 5.	1209	June 23.	1210
*607	June 24.	1210	— 13.	1211
608	— 14.	1211	— 1.	1212
609	— 2.	1212	May 21.	1213
*610	May 22.	1213	— 11.	1214
611	— 12.	1214	Apr. 30.	1215
612	— 1.	1215	— 18.	1216
*613	Apr. 19.	1216	— 8.	1217
614	— 9.	1217	Mar. 28.	1218
615	Mar. 29.	1218	— 17.	1219
*616	— 18.	1219	— 6.	1220
617	— 7.	1220	Feb. 23.	1221
*618	Feb. 24.	1221	— 13.	1222
619	— 14.	1222	— 2.	1223
620	— 3.	1223	Jan. 22.	1224
*621	Jan. 23.	1224	— 11.	1225
622	— 12.	1225	Dec. 31.	1225
623	— 1.	1226	— 20.	1226
*624	Dec. 21.	1226	— 10.	1227
625	— 11.	1227	Nov. 28.	1228
*626	Nov. 29.	1228	— 18.	1229
627	— 19.	1229	— 7.	1230
628	— 8.	1230	Oct. 27.	1231
*629	Oct. 28.	1231	— 16.	1232
630	— 17.	1232	— 5.	1243
631	— 6.	1233	Sept. 24.	1234
*632	Sept. 25.	1234	— 14.	1235
633	— 15.	1235	— 2.	1236
634	— 3.	1236	Aug. 22.	1237
*635	Aug. 23.	1237	— 12.	1238
636	— 13.	1238	— 1.	1239
*637	Aug. 2.	1239	July 21.	1240
638	July 22.	1240	— 10.	1241
639	— 11.	1241	June 29.	1242
*640	June 30.	1242	— 19.	1243
641	— 20.	1243	— 7.	1244
642	— 8.	1244	May 27.	1245
*643	May 28.	1245	— 17.	1246
644	— 18.	1246	— 6.	1247
645	— 7.	1247	Apr. 24.	1248
*646	Apr. 25.	1248	— 14.	1249
647	— 15.	1249	— 3.	1250
*648	— 4.	1250	Mar. 24.	1251
649	Mar. 25.	1251	— 12.	1252
650	— 13.	1252	— 1.	1253
*651	— 2.	1253	Feb. 19.	1254
652	Feb. 20.	1254	— 8.	1255
653	— 9.	1255	Jan. 28.	1256
*654	Jan. 29.	1256	— 17.	1257
655	— 18.	1257	— 6.	1258
*656	— 7.	1258	Dec. 27.	1258
657	Dec. 28.	1258	— 16.	1259
658	— 17.	1259	— 4.	1260
*659	— 5.	1260	Nov. 24.	1261
660	Nov. 25.	1261	— 13.	1262
661	— 14.	1262	— 2.	1263
*662	— 3.	1263	Oct. 22.	1264
663	Oct. 23.	1264	— 11.	1265
664	— 12.	1265	Sept. 30.	1266
*665	— 1.	1266	— 20.	1267
666	Sept. 21.	1267	— 8.	1268
*667	— 9.	1268	Aug. 29.	1269
668	Aug. 30.	1269	— 18.	1270
669	Aug. 19.	1270	Aug. 7.	1271
*670	— 8.	1271	July 27.	1272
671	July 28.	1272	— 16.	1273
672	— 17.	1273	— 5.	1274
*673	— 6.	1274	June 25.	1275
674	June 26.	1275	— 13.	1276
675	— 14.	1276	— 2.	1277
*676	— 3.	1277	May 23.	1278
677	May 24.	1278	— 12.	1279
678	— 13.	1279	— 1.	1280
*679	— 2.	1280	Apr. 20.	1281
680	Apr. 21.	1281	— 9.	1282
*681	— 10.	1282	Mar. 30.	1283
682	Mar. 31.	1283	— 18.	1284
683	— 19.	1284	— 7.	1285
*684	— 8.	1285	Feb. 25.	1286
685	Feb. 26.	1286	— 14.	1287
686	— 15.	1287	— 4.	1288
*687	— 5.	1288	Jan. 23.	1289
688	Jan. 24.	1289	— 12.	1290
*689	— 13.	1290	— 2.	1291
690	— 3.	1291	Dec. 22.	1291
691	Dec. 23.	1291	— 10.	1292
*692	— 11.	1292	Nov. 30.	1293
693	— 1.	1293	— 19.	1294
694	Nov. 20.	1294	— 8.	1295
*695	— 9.	1295	Oct. 28.	1296
696	Oct. 29.	1296	— 17.	1297
*697	— 18.	1297	— 7.	1298
698	— 8.	1298	Sept. 26.	1299
699	Sept. 27.	1299	— 14.	1300
*700	— 15.	1300	— 4.	1301
701	— 5.	1301	Aug. 24.	1302
702	Aug. 25.	1302	— 13.	1303
*703	— 14.	1303	— 2.	1304
704	— 3.	1304	July 22.	1305
705	July 23.	1305	— 11.	1306
*706	— 12.	1306	— 1.	1307
707	— 2.	1307	June 19.	1308
*708	June 20.	1308	— 9.	1309
709	— 10.	1309	May 29.	1310
710	May 30.	1310	— 18.	1311
*711	— 19.	1311	— 7.	1312
712	— 8.	1312	Apr. 26.	1313
713	Apr. 27.	1313	— 15.	1314
*714	— 16.	1314	— 5.	1315
715	— 6.	1315	Mar. 24.	1316
*716	Mar. 25.	1316	— 14.	1317
717	— 15.	1317	— 3.	1318
718	— 4.	1318	Feb. 20.	1319
*719	Feb. 20.	1319	— 10.	1320
720	— 11.	1320	Jan. 29.	1321
721	Jan. 30.	1321	— 18.	1322
*722	— 19.	1322	— 8.	1323
723	— 9.	1323	Dec. 28.	1323
724	Dec. 29.	1323	— 16.	1324
*725	— 17.	1324	— 6.	1325
726	— 7.	1325	Nov. 25.	1326
*727	Nov. 26.	1326	— 15.	1327
728	— 16.	1327	— 3.	1328
729	— 4.	1328	Oct. 23.	1329
*730	Oct. 24.	1329	— 13.	1330
731	— 14.	1330	— 2.	1331
732	— 3.	1331	Sept. 20.	1332

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
*733	Sept. 21.	1332	Sept. 10.	1333
734	— 11.	1333	Aug. 30.	1334
735	Aug. 31.	1334	— 19.	1335
*736	— 20.	1335	— 8.	1336
737	— 9.	1336	July 28.	1337
*738	July 29.	1337	— 18.	1338
739	— 19.	1338	— 7.	1339
740	— 8.	1339	June 25.	1340
*741	June 26.	1340	— 15.	1341
742	— 16.	1341	— 4.	1342
743	— 5.	1342	May 24.	1343
*744	May 25.	1343	— 13.	1344
745	— 14.	1344	— 2.	1345
*746	— 3.	1345	Apr. 22.	1346
747	Apr. 23.	1346	— 11.	1347
748	— 12.	1347	Mar. 30.	1348
*749	Mar. 31.	1348	— 20.	1349
750	— 21.	1349	— 9.	1350
751	— 10.	1350	Feb. 26.	1351
*752	Feb. 27.	1351	— 16.	1352
753	— 17.	1352	— 4.	1353
754	— 5.	1353	Jan. 24.	1354
*755	Jan. 25.	1354	— 14.	1355
756	— 15.	1355	— 3.	1356
*757	— 4.	1356	Dec. 23.	1356
758	Dec. 24.	1356	— 12.	1357
759	— 13.	1357	— 1.	1358
*760	— 2.	1358	Nov. 21.	1359
761	Nov. 22.	1359	— 9.	1360
762	— 10.	1360	Oct. 29.	1361
*763	Oct. 30.	1361	— 19.	1362
764	— 20.	1362	— 8.	1363
765	— 9.	1363	Sept. 26.	1364
*766	Sept. 27.	1364	— 16.	1365
767	— 17.	1365	— 5.	1366
*768	— 6.	1366	Aug. 26.	1367
769	Aug. 27.	1367	— 14.	1368
770	— 15.	1368	— 3.	1369
*771	— 4.	1369	July 24.	1370
772	July 25.	1370	— 13.	1371
773	July 14.	1371	July 1.	1372
*774	— 2.	1372	June 21.	1373
775	June 22.	1373	— 10.	1374
*776	— 11.	1374	May 31.	1375
777	— 1.	1375	— 19.	1376
778	May 20.	1376	— 8.	1377
*779	— 9.	1377	Apr. 28.	1378
780	Apr. 29.	1378	— 17.	1379
781	— 18.	1379	— 5.	1380
*782	— 6.	1380	Mar. 26.	1381
783	Mar. 27.	1381	— 15.	1382
784	— 16.	1382	— 4.	1383
*785	— 5.	1383	Feb. 22.	1384
786	Feb. 23.	1384	— 10.	1385
787	— 11.	1385	Jan. 31.	1386
*788	— 1.	1386	— 20.	1387
789	Jan. 21.	1387	— 9.	1388
*790	— 10.	1388	Dec. 29.	1388
791	Dec. 30.	1388	— 18.	1389
792	— 19.	1389	— 7.	1390
*793	— 8.	1390	Nov. 27.	1391
794	Nov. 28.	1391	— 15.	1392
795	— 16.	1392	— 4.	1393
*796	— 5.	1393	Oct. 25.	1394

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
797	Oct. 26.	1394	Oct. 14.	1395
*798	— 15.	1395	— 3.	1396
799	— 4.	1396	Sept. 22.	1397
800	Sept. 23.	1397	— 11.	1398
*801	— 12.	1398	— 1.	1399
802	— 2.	1399	Aug. 20.	1400
803	Aug. 21.	1400	— 9.	1401
*804	— 10.	1401	July 30.	1402
805	July 31.	1402	— 19.	1403
*806	— 20.	1403	— 8.	1404
807	— 9.	1404	June 27.	1405
808	June 28.	1405	— 16.	1406
*809	— 17.	1406	— 6.	1407
810	— 7.	1407	May 25.	1408
811	May 26.	1408	— 14.	1409
*812	— 15.	1409	— 4.	1410
813	— 5.	1410	Apr. 23.	1411
814	Apr. 24.	1411	— 11.	1412
*815	— 12.	1412	— 1.	1413
816	— 2.	1413	Mar. 21.	1414
*817	Mar. 22.	1414	— 11.	1415
818	— 12.	1415	Feb. 28.	1416
819	Feb. 29.	1416	— 16.	1417
*820	— 17.	1417	— 6.	1418
821	— 7.	1418	Jan. 26.	1419
822	Jan. 27.	1419	— 15.	1420
*823	— 16.	1420	— 4.	1421
824	— 5.	1421	Dec. 24.	1421
825	Dec. 25.	1421	— 13.	1422
*826	— 14.	1422	— 3.	1423
827	— 4.	1423	Nov. 21.	1424
*828	Nov. 22.	1424	— 11.	1425
829	— 12.	1425	Oct. 31.	1426
830	— 1.	1426	— 20.	1427
*831	Oct. 21.	1427	— 9.	1428
832	— 10.	1428	Sept. 28.	1429
833	Sept. 29.	1429	— 17.	1430
*834	— 18.	1430	— 7.	1431
835	— 8.	1431	Aug. 26.	1432
*836	Aug. 27.	1432	— 16.	1433
837	— 17.	1433	— 5.	1434
838	— 6.	1434	July 25.	1435
*839	July 26.	1435	— 14.	1436
840	— 15.	1436	— 3.	1437
841	— 4.	1437	June 22.	1438
*842	June 23.	1438	— 12.	1439
843	— 13.	1439	May 31.	1440
844	— 1.	1440	— 20.	1441
*845	May 21.	1441	— 10.	1442
846	— 11.	1442	Apr. 29.	1443
*847	Apr. 30.	1443	— 18.	1444
848	— 19.	1444	— 7.	1445
849	— 8.	1445	Mar. 27.	1446
*850	Mar. 28.	1446	— 17.	1447
851	— 18.	1447	— 5.	1448
852	— 6.	1448	Feb. 22.	1449
*853	Feb. 23.	1449	— 12.	1450
854	— 13.	1450	— 1.	1451
855	— 2.	1451	Jan. 21.	1452
*856	Jan. 22.	1452	— 10.	1453
857	— 11.	1453	Dec. 30.	1453
*858	Dec. 31.	1453	— 20.	1454
859	— 21.	1454	— 9.	1455
860	— 10.	1455	Nov. 27	1456

A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.	A.H.	Begun.	A.D.	Ended.	A.D.
*861	Nov. 28.	1456	Nov. 17.	1457	884	Mar. 24.	1479	Mar. 11.	1480
862	— 18.	1457	— 6.	1458	885	— 12.	1480	Feb. 28.	1481
863	— 7.	1458	Oct. 26.	1459	*886	— 1.	1481	— 18.	1482
*864	Oct. 27.	1459	— 15.	1460	887	Feb. 19.	1482	— 7.	1483
865	— 16.	1460	— 4.	1461	*888	— 8.	1483	Jan. 28.	1484
*866	— 5.	1461	Sept. 24.	1462	889	Jan. 29.	1484	— 16.	1485
867	Sept. 25.	1462	— 13.	1463	890	— 17.	1485	— 5.	1486
868	— 14.	1463	— 1.	1464	*891	— 6.	1486	Dec. 26.	1486
*869	— 2.	1464	Aug. 22.	1465	892	Dec. 27.	1486	— 15.	1487
870	Aug. 23.	1465	— 11.	1466	893	— 16.	1487	— 3.	1488
871	— 12.	1466	July 31.	1467	*894	— 4.	1488	Nov. 23.	1489
*872	— 1.	1467	— 20.	1468	895	Nov. 24.	1489	— 12.	1490
873	July 21.	1468	— 9.	1469	*896	— 13.	1490	— 2.	1491
874	— 10.	1469	June 28.	1470	897	— 3.	1491	Oct. 21.	1492
*875	June 29.	1470	— 18.	1471	898	Oct. 22.	1492	— 10.	1493
876	— 19.	1471	— 6.	1472	*899	— 11.	1493	Sept. 30.	1494
*877	— 7.	1472	May 28.	1473	900	— 1.	1494	— 19.	1495
878	May 28.	1473	— 16.	1474	901	Sept. 20.	1495	— 7.	1496
879	— 17.	1474	— 5.	1475	*902	— 8.	1496	Aug. 28.	1497
*880	— 6.	1475	Apr. 24.	1476	903	Aug. 29.	1497	— 17.	1498
881	Apr. 25.	1476	— 13.	1477	904	— 18.	1498	— 6.	1499
882	— 14.	1477	— 2.	1478	*905	— 7.	1499	July 26.	1500
*883	— 3.	1478	Mar. 23.	1479	906	July 27.	1500	— 15.	1501

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRECEDING TABLE.

The utility of the preceding Table is too apparent to require exposing. It will serve as a key to the history, not of Spain only, but of all Mohammedan kingdoms. It lays claim to scrupulous accuracy; an advantage the more valuable, when we consider that, in adapting the chronology of the Arabs to that of the Christians, *all* historians previous to Pagi and Masdeu have committed considerable errors,—none more than those of Spain. A few observations will make the subject better understood

The lunar year of the Arabs consists, like our solar one, of 12 months:—

Months.	Days.	Months.	Days.
I. Moharram	30	VII. Regeb	30
II. Safir	29	VIII. Shaffan	29
III. Rabia I.	30	IX. Ramdan	30
IV. Rabia II.	29	X. Xawal	29
V. Jumadi I.	30	XI. Dilcada	30
VI. Jumadi II.	29	XII. Dulcagiath	29

Making in all 354 days. The reason of the alternate numbers is, that a revolution of the moon occupies 29 days and 12 hours (the excess of a few minutes over the hours is about to be noticed); in other words, two of them occupy 59 days.

But the preceding is an *ordinary* year. Like us, the Mohammedans have also their *embolical* or *intercalary* years, arising from the excess of 44 minutes above the 29 days 12 hours in the lunar revolution. This excess of 44 minutes in every month amounts, in 12 months, to $44 \times 12 = 528$ minutes, or 8 hours 48 minutes. Now, as this fraction of about one third of a day could not be made available annually, the Mohammedans have assumed a period of 30 years, at the expiration of which no fraction would remain, because $528 \times 30 = 15840$ minutes $= 264$ hours $= 11$ days. Hence in every 30 years there are 11 surplus days, which are intercalated with

them; about every third year having an additional day. This day is always added to the last month, Dulcagiath, which accordingly has 30 days instead of 29; and the embolistic year itself has necessarily 355 days instead of 354.

Hence the ordinary lunar year contains 11 days fewer than our solar year; the embolistic year 10 days fewer: but if our solar year happen to be a bissextile (in other words, if divisible by 4), there will be a difference of 12 days in the ordinary (366—354), and of 11 in the embolistic (366—355). Hence, too, the gross miscalculations of the old Spanish chroniclers, who, assuming the Mohammedan year as equal to the Christian, introduced sad blundering into chronology.

To how great a sum this difference between the solar and lunar years may amount in time, will be apparent from one or two calculations. Let us first take a period of 60 years, as that period contains 22 intercalary days of the Arabs, and 15 bissextiles of the Christians.

Mohammedan Years.		*Christian Years.*	
354		365	
60		60	
21240		21900	
Add 22 embolistic days.		Add 15 days for so many bissextiles.	
21262		21915	

21915
21262

And the difference will be 653 days, or above one year and three quarters.

Again, in 720 years: —

Mohammedan Time.

720
354
2880
3600
2160
254880
264 embolical days.
255144

3,0) 72,0
24 periods of 30 years.
11
264 embolistic days.

Christian Time.

720
365
3600
4320
2160
262800
180
262980

4) 720
180 embolical days.

262980
255144

Difference - 7836 days.

$\overline{7836} \div 365{\cdot}25 = 21$ solar years $165{\cdot}75$ days.

Now, to make the calculation agree with the Table, look for A. H. 720, which will be found to end Jan. 29. A. D. 1321. As the year, however, commenced July 15. it must also end July 15. Now, from that day A. D. 622, to the same day A. D. 1321, are 699 years; but from these 699 we must subtract the days *above* the 720 Mohammedan years, viz. from Jan. 29. to July 15., before we can determine the exact quantity of solar time contained in those years. From Jan. 29. 1321, to July 15. in the same year, are 166 days. If these days are deducted from the 699 years, we shall have 698 years 199 days.

Hence	Years.	Days.
from	720	0
take	698	199
and the difference,	21	166,

is the same as before, with the exception of an insignificant fraction.

From these calculations, it is evident that a Table which thus greatly abridges the labour of computation is invaluable. Suppose the reader of Abu Abdalla should find (*Vestis Acu Picta*, apud Casiri, Bibliotheca Arab.-Hisp. tom. ii. p. 182.) that Tarik ben Zeyad disembarked in Spain A. H. 92, the eighth day of the moon Regeb; how ascertain the solar date, except by a most laborious comparison of the Christian and Mohammedan years, beginning with the first of the Hegira? If, to save the irksome labour,—a labour of many long days,—he should, as most Spanish historians have done, make 32 Christian years equal to 33 Mohammedan, he would be as much in error as they have been:

For 32×365	=	11680 days.
Add the 8 bissextiles		8
		11688
And 33×354	=	11682

So there will be an error of 6 days *minus* in the 33 years. And if the 12 embolical days are added, $11682 \times 12 = 11694$, there will be the same error, but in this case of *excess*. What would be the error in some hundreds of years? And how, even if this calculation rested on a sound basis, would the beginning of any given Mohammedan year be found? or how would the corresponding Christian day and month of the eighth Regeb be discovered? It could only be discovered by the wearisome process of computation from the very origin of the era.

But by the preceding Table the time of this or any other event can easily be ascertained. The opening of A. H. 92 is there found to correspond with Oct. 28. 710. Now for the month and day:—

	Days.		Days.
Moharram has	30	October (remaining days)	4
Safir	29	November	30
Rabia I.	30	December	31
Rabia II.	29	January	31
Jumadi I.	30	February	28
Jumadi II.	29	March	31
Add the 8 days of Regeb	8	April	30
	185		185

Hence the eighth day of Regeb, A. H. 92, falls on April 30. 711.

Example II. — Suppose an event happened on the 11th day of the moon Ramdan, A. H. 325.

A. H. 325 opens Nov. 18. A. D. 936.

	Days.		Days.	
Moharram	30	November	13	
Safir	29	December	31	
Rabia I.	30	January	31	
Rabia II.	29	February	29	(bissextile.)
Jumadi I.	30	March	31	
Jumadi II.	29	April	30	
Regeb	30	May	31	
Shaffan	29	June	30	
Ramdan	11	July	21	
	247		247	

Hence the 11th day of Ramdan, A. H. 325, corresponds with July 21. A. D. 937.

Lastly. Let us suppose that a particular event occurred the 23d day of the moon Dilcada, A. H. 527, which opens Nov. 11. A. D. 1132.

	Days.		Days.
Moharram	30	November	20
Safir	29	December	31
Rabia I.	30	January	31
Rabia II.	29	February	28
Jumadi I.	30	March	31
Jumadi II.	29	April	30
Regeb	30	May	31
Shaffan	29	June	30
Ramdan	30	July	31
Xawal	29	August	31
Dilcada	23	September	24
	318		318

Hence Sept. 24. A. D. 1133, is the period required.

To multiply examples is useless, as similar calculations will frequently be found in the foot-notes.

TABLE II.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF MOHAMMEDAN SPAIN.

CORDOVA.	THE ASTURIAS AND LEON.	NAVARRE.	BARCELONA.
A. D. I. *Emirs.*	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
711. Tarik ben Zeyad. Musa ben Nozeir. 714. Abdelasis ben Muza. 715. Ayub ben Habib. Alhaur ben Abderahman.	718. Pelayo, believed to be sprung from the royal blood of the Goths.	The kings reported to reign during this period, entirely fabulous. Navarre governed by counts dependent, probably, on the kingdom of the Asturias. See the History of Navarre, vol. iii. sect. 2. ch. 2.	During this period Barcelona and all Catalonia dependent on the Mohammedans.
721. Alsama ben Melic. 722. Abderahman ben Abdalla. 724. Ambisa ben Sohim. 726. Hodeira ben Abdalla. Yahia ben Zulema. 727. Othman ben Abi Neza. Hodeira ben Alhaus. Alhaitam ben Obeid. 728. Mohammed ben Abdalla. 729. Abderahman ben Abdalla (second time). 733. Abdelmelic ben Cotan. 736. Ocba ben Albegag.	737. Favila, son of Pelayo. 739. Alfonso I., son-in-law of Pelayo.		

741. Abdelmelic ben Cotan (second time).
742. Baleg ben Bakir.
Thalaba ben Sulema.
743. Husam ben Dhizar.
744. Thueba el Ameli.
746. Yussuf el Fehri.

II. *Kings.*

755. Abderahman I. ben Moawia.

757. Fruela I., son of Alfonso.
768. Aurelio, nephew of Alfonso.
774. Mauregato, bastard of Alfonso.

777, 778. Charlemagne invades Navarre.

777, 778. Charlemagne invades Catalonia.

787. Hixem I. ben Abderahman.

788. Bermudo I., nephew of Alfonso.
791. Alfonso II., son of Fruela.

796. Alhakem ben Hixem.

801. Bera.
820. Bernardo.

821. Abderahman II. ben Alhakem.

842. Ramiro I., son of Bermudo.
846. Aleuran.
850. Ordoño I., son of Ramiro.

852. Mohammed I. ben Abderahman.

858. Wifredo I.

866. Alfonso III., son of Ordoño.

872. Salomon.

TABLE II. — *continued.*

CORDOVA.	THE ASTURIAS AND LEON.	NAVARRE.	BARCELONA.
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
		873. Sancho Iñigo, first independent count.	
			884. Wifredo II., son of Wifredo I.
		885. Garcia I. (Iniguez) son of count Sancho, and the first king.	
886. Almondhir ben Mohammed.			
888. Abdalla, brother of Almondhir.			
		905. Sancho I. (Garces Abarca), son of Garcia I.	
912. Abderahman III., grandson of Abdalla.	910. Garcia, son of Alfonso III.		912. Miro, son of Wifredo II.
	914. Ordoño II., brother of Garcia.		
	923. Fruela II., son of Alfonso III.		
		924. Garcia II. (el Trembloro), son of Sancho I.	
	925. Alfonso IV., son of Ordoño II.		928. Suniofredo, son of Miro.
	930. Ramiro II., brother of the same Alfonso.		
	950. Ordoño III., son of Ramiro II.		

	955. Sancho I., brother of the same Ordoño.		
961. Alhakem II., son of Abderahman III.			967. Borello, cousin of Senivfred.
	967. Ramiro III., son of Sancho I.	970. Sancho II. (el Mayor), son or grandson of Garcia II.	
976. Hixem II. ben Alhakem II., dethroned to make way for his cousin Mohammed, but restored in 1010; in 1012 finally removed.			
	982. Bermudo II., grandson of Fruela II.		
			993. Raymondo I., son of Borello.
	999. Alfonso V., son of Bermudo II.		
1012. Suleyman.			
1015. Ali ben Hamud.			
1017. Abderahman IV.			1017. Berengario II., son of Raymond.
1018. Alcassim ben Hamud, brother of Ali.			
1023. Abderahman V.			
Mohammed II., cousin of Hixem II.			
1026. Hixem III., brother of Abderahman IV.			
	1027. Bermudo III. son of Alfonso V.		

TABLE II. — *continued.*

CORDOVA.	LEON.	CASTILE.	NAVARRE.	ARAGON.	BARCELONA.
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
		1026. Sancho el Mayor, king of Navarre, first king of Castile, in right of his wife.			
Reguli of Cordova.					
1031. Gehwar ben Mohammed.					
		1035. Fernando I., son of Sancho.	1035. Garcia III., son of Sancho.	1035. Ramiro I.	1035. Raymondo II., son of Berengario II.
	1037. Fernando I., king of Castile; king of Leon in right of his wife.				
1044. Mohammed ben Gehwar.					
			1054. Sancho III., son of Garcia III.		
1060. Mohammed Almoateded.					
				1063. Sancho I. (afterwards IV. of Navarre), son of Ramiro.	
	1065. Alfonso VI., son of Fernando I.	1065. Sancho II., son of Fernando I.			

1069. Mohammed Almostadir.		1072. Alfonso I., son of Fernando I. (also VI. of Leon).	1076. Sancho IV. (also I. of Aragon).		1082. Raymondo III., son of Raymondo II.
Dynasty of the Almoravides.					
1094. Yussef ben Taxfin.			1094. Pedro I., son of Sancho IV. (also king of Aragon).	1094. Pedro I., son of Sancho I. (also king of Navarre.)	
			1104. Alfonso I., brother of Pedro (also king of Aragon).	1104. Alfonso I., brother of Pedro (also king of Navarre).	
1107. Ali ben Yussef.	1109. Urraca and Alfonso VII.* (also sovereign of Castile).	1109. Urraca, daughter of Fernando I., and Alfonso VII.* (also sovereign of Leon).			
	1126. Alfonso VIII. (the emperor), son of Urraca.	1126. Alfonso II. (the emperor), son of Urraca.			

* This Alfonso, king of Aragon and Navarre, ought not to be reckoned among the sovereigns of Castile, though he is usually included among them.

TABLE II. — *continued.*

CORDOVA.	LEON.	CASTILE.	NAVARRE.	ARAGON.	BARCELONA.
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D. 1131. Alfonso Raymond, son of Raymondo III. the last count (on his death Barcelona united with Aragon).
			1134. Garcia IV.	1134. Ramiro II., brother of Alfonso. 1137. Petronilla, daughter of Ramiro II.	PORTUGAL. 1139. Alfonso I., son of count Enrique.
1144. Taxfin ben Ali. *Dynasty of the Almohades.* 1147. Abdelmumen.					
	1157. Fernando II., son of Alfonso the Emperor.	1157. Sancho III., son of Alfonso the Emperor. 1158. Alfonso III., son of Sancho III.	1150. Sancho V., son of Garcia IV.		

1163. Yusef Abu Yacub, son of Abdelmumen.					1163. Alfonso II., son of Petronilla.	
1178. Yacub ben Yusef.	1188. Alfonso IX., son of Fernando II.		1194. Sancho VI., son of Sancho V.			1185. Sancho I., son of Alfonso.
1199. Mohammed, son of Yacub.					1196. Pedro II., son of Alfonso II.	
1213. Abu Yacub.		1214. Enrique I., son of Alfonso III. 1217. Fernando III., son of Alfonso IX. of Leon (afterwards king of Leon).			1213. Jayme I., son of Pedro II.	1211. Alfonso II., son of Sancho.
1223. Abulmelic, Abdelwahid, son of Yacub.						1223. Sancho II., son of Alfonso II.
1225. Aimamon. Abu Ali.	1230. Fernando III., son of Alfonso IX. (also king of Castile).					

TABLE II. — *continued.*

GRANADA.	LEON AND CASTILE UNITED.	NAVARRE.	ARAGON.	PORTUGAL.
A. D.	A. D.	A. D. 1234. Thibault I., nephew of Sancho VI.	A. D.	A. D.
1238. Mohammed I. Aben Alhamar, founder of the kingdom.				1248. Alfonso III., brother of Sancho II.
	1252. Alfonso X., son of Fernando III.	1253. Thibault II., son of the former. 1270. Henri, in right of his wife, who was daughter of Thibault II.		
1273. Mohammed II. ben Mohammed.		1274. Jeanne, queen of Philip IV. king of France.		
			1276. Pedro III., son of Jayme I.	
	1284. Sancho IV., son of Alfonso X.			1279. Dionis, son of Alfonso III.
			1285. Alfonso III., son of Pedro III.	

1295. Fernando IV., son of Sancho IV.

1302. Mohammed III. Abu Abdalla.

1305. Louis Hutin (king of France), son of Jeanne.

1309. Nassir Abul Giux, brother of the preceding.

1312. Alfonso XI., son of Fernando IV.

1313. Ismail ben Ferag, nephew of Nassir.

1316. Philip, brother of Louis (also king of France).

1322. Charles I., brother of Philip (also king of France).

1325. Mohammed IV. ben Ismail.

1328. Jeanne II., daughter of Louis Hutin, married to Philip count of Evreux.

1333. Yussef Abul Hagiag, brother of Mohammed IV.

1291. Jayme II., brother of Alfonso.

1325. Alfonso IV., son of Dionis.

1327. Alfonso IV., son of Jayme II.

1336. Pedro IV., son of Alfonso IV.

TABLE II. — *continued.*

GRANADA.	LEON AND CASTILE UNITED.	NAVARRE.	ARAGON.	PORTUGAL.
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
		1349. Charles II. son of Jeanne.		
	1350. Pedro the Cruel, son of Alfonso XI.			
1354. Mohammed V. ben Yussef.				
				1357. Pedro I., son of Alfonso IV.
1359. Ismail II., brother of Mohammed.				
1360. Abu Said, brother-in-law of Ismail II.				
				1367. Fernando I., son of Pedro I.
	1369. Enrique II., bastard son of Alfonso XI.			
	1379. Juan I., son of Enrique II.			
				1383. Joam I.
		1387. Charles III., son of Charles II.	1387. Juan I., son of Pedro IV.	
	1390. Enrique III., son of Juan.			
1391. Yussef II., Abu Abdalla, son of Mohammed V.				

1395. Martin, brother of Juan I.

1396. Mohammed VI., son of Yussef II.

1406. Juan II., son of Enrique III.

1408. Yussef III., brother of Mohammed VI.

1412. Fernando I., brother of Enrique III. king of Castile, elected.

1416. Alfonso V., son of Fernando I.

1423. Muley Mohammed VII., son of Yussef III.

1425. Blanche, daughter of Charles III., and Juan, her husband, son of Fernando I. king of Aragon.

1427. Mohammed VIII., cousin of Muley Mohammed VII.

1429. Mohammed VII. restored.

1432. Yussef IV. Aben Alhamar.
Mohammed VII. (restored a second time).

1433. Duardo, son of Joam I.

TABLE II. — *continued.*

GRANADA.	LEON AND CASTILE UNITED.	NAVARRE.	ARAGON.	PORTUGAL.
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
				1438. Alfonso V., son of Duardo.
1445. Mohammed IX., Aben Osmin (nephew of Mohammed VII.)				
1454. Mohammed X., nephew of Mohammed VII.	1454. Enrique IV., son of Juan II.			
			1458. Juan II. (also king of Navarre), brother of Alfonso V.	
1463. Muley Ali Abul Hassan., son of Mohammed X.				
	1474. Isabel, daughter of Juan II., and her husband, Fernando V. (the II. of Aragon).			
		1479. FrançoisPhœbus de Foix, in right of his grandmother, Leonora de Foix, daughter of Juan.	1479. Fernando II. (the V. of Castile), son of Juan II.	
				1481. Juam II., son of Alfonso V.

1483. Abu Abdalla, son of Abul Hassan.		1483 Catherine de Foix, sister of Phœbus and her husband Jean d'Albret.		
1484. Abdalla el Zagal, brother of Abul Hassan; both princes survived the fall of Granada.				
	1504. Juana, daughter of Fernando and Isabel, and Philip I. of Austria.			1495. Manoel, cousin of Joam II.
		United with Castile in 1512.		
			United with Castile in 1516.	

THE

HISTORY

OF

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

BOOK III. CONTINUED.

SPAIN DURING THE DOMINATION OF THE ARABS.

SECTION I.

MOHAMMEDAN SPAIN, CONTINUED.

CHAP. I.

DOMINATION OF THE AFRICANS, ETC.

1031—1238.

1. *Independent Kingdoms.*

THE decline and dissolution of the Mohammedan monarchy, or western caliphat, afforded the ambitious local governors throughout the Peninsula the opportunity for which they had long sighed,—that of openly asserting their independence of Cordova, and of assuming the title of kings. The wali of Seville, Mohammed ben Ismail ben Abid, whose victory over Yahia has been already re- A. H. 412 to 423.

corded*, appears to have been the first to assume the powers of royalty; and he showed that he knew how to use them with as much impunity as sovereigns of more sounding pretensions: without condescending to enquire whether the throne of Cordova was filled or vacant, he declared war against the self-elected king of Carmona, Mohammed ben Abdalla, on whose cities, Carmona and Ecija, he had cast a covetous eye. The brother of Yahia, Edris ben Ali, the son of Hamud, governed Malaga with equal independence. Algeziras had also its sovereigns. Elvira and Granada obeyed Habus ben Maksan: Valencia had for its king Abdelasis Abul Hassan, Almeria had Zohair, and Denia had Mugehid; but these two petty states were soon absorbed in the rising sphere of Valencia. Huesca and Saragossa were also subject to rulers, who though slow to assume the title of kings were not the less independent, since their sway extended over most of Aragon. The sovereign of Badajoz, Abdalla Muslema ben Alaftas, was the acknowledged head of all the confederated governors of Algarve and Lusitania; and Toledo was subject to the powerful Ismail ben Dyluun, who, like the king of Seville, secretly aspired to the government of all Mohammedan Spain. These numerous reguli were unanimous in one object, — that of renouncing all allegiance to the former seat of empire.

A. H. 423 to 432. But Cordova, however weakened, was not willing thus suddenly to lose her hold on her ancient subjects: she resolved to elect a sovereign who should endeavour to subdue these audacious rebels, and restore her ancient splendour. The disasters which had accompanied the last reigns of the Omeyan princes had strongly indisposed the people to the claims of that illustrious house. No one thought of enquiring whether any member of that house remained: it was unfortunate, and superstition regarded it as doomed by fate to everlasting exclusion. After a deliberation proportioned to the magnitude

* See vol. i. p. 309.

of the interests involved, the inhabitants threw their eyes on Gehwar ben Muhammed, a chief of great prudence, and of considerable enterprise, who was persuaded to undertake the arduous duties of government. But Gehwar had seen too much of popular inconstancy to incur the same fatal responsibility as his immediate predecessors. To diminish the odium invariably attached to failure, he surrounded himself by a council which comprised some of the most distinguished citizens, and without the advice of which he undertook no one thing, not even the nomination to public offices. Of that council he was but the president, possessing but one vote like the remaining members; so that Cordova presented the appearance rather of a republic than of a monarchy.* Though he was reluctantly persuaded to take up his abode in the palace of the caliphs, he carefully freed himself from the encumbrances of royal pomp by reducing both his table and attendants to the scale of a private citizen. His vigour in the internal administration, the long continued abuses of which he purged with no sparing hand, corresponded with so auspicious a beginning. All useless offices he abolished; such as were imperfectly administered he restored to their former efficiency, and he created new ones to control and expedite the whole business of government. No less zealously did he provide for the comfort of the people, by establishing public magazines and markets, where the necessaries of life were abundantly and cheaply furnished to all purchasers. By these and other measures he introduced a degree of tranquillity and of commercial activity unknown since the death of the great Almansor. But the same success did not attend him in his efforts to restore the supremacy of Cordova. Some of the walis whom he summoned to take the usual oath of fidelity excused themselves on various grounds; others plainly replied that he must not expect to rule over any other

* Honores non petiit; imo regiâ dignitate sibi oblatâ, sic se gessit ut rempublicam tanquam regis vicarius administrare constituit (Supplementum Alhomaidi), apud Casiri, Bibliotheca Arabico Hispana, tom. ii. p. 208.

city than the one he inhabited: the wali of Toledo advised him to be grateful to the moderation of men who allowed him to retain Cordova. These insults were bitterly felt by him, but he had not the means of revenge, and he could do no more than patiently wait the course of events in the faint hope of profiting by it. He waited in vain. Whatever might be the internal dissensions of the petty kings, the success of some, the failure of others, none thought of recognising his superiority.*

To recount the perpetually recurring struggles of these reguli for the increase of their states, their alliances, their transient successes or hopeless failures, or even their existence, would far exceed the limits of a compendium, and would afford neither interest nor instruction to the reader. Such events only can be noticed as are either signal in themselves, or exercised more than a passing influence on the condition of the Mohammedan portion of the Peninsula.

A. H. 433 to 455. After triumphing over some neighbouring kings, who dreaded his increasing power, the sovereign of Seville prepared to invade the possessions of Gehwar; but death surprised him before those preparations were completed. His son, Mohammed Almoateded, who succeeded him, was as ambitious as himself, but more luxurious. The young king, dissatisfied with the scanty number of seventy women which had hitherto satisfied him, filled his harem with eight hundred of the choicest beauties. The faithful were scandalised at a prodigality which rivalled that of the greatest sovereigns of the East, and still more when they saw that while immense sums were expended on palaces, only one humble mosque arose in the twenty-five towns which owned his jurisdiction. But this ostentatious luxury did not divert him from treading in

* Abu Baker, Vestis Serica, p. 39. Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, p. 208. Alhomaid, Supplementum, p. 208. Ben Alabar, Chronologia, p. 208. (apud Casiri Bibliotheca Arabico Hispana, tom. ii.) Ximenes Historia Arabum, cap. 47. Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination des Arabes, &c. ii. 129—157. In these chapters Christian authorities have little to do with affairs purely Mohammedan. It is often necessary, however, to correct the statements of the Arabian writers by them.

the steps of his able father. He seized on Huelva, Niebla, and Gibraltar, and aimed at the reduction of Carmona, which his father had been unable to effect. Though the fate of the last-named place was suspended for some years by the energetic resistance of its ruler, in A. H. 444 it capitulated. All southern Andalusia was now in the power of Almoateded, yet his ambition was far from satisfied. For some time he remained in alliance with Mohammed, the son and successor of Gehwar (A. H. 435), in the throne of Cordova; but he had resolved to gain possession of that ancient capital,—whether by force or stratagem imported him little. Though he had despatched five hundred horse to the aid of Mohammed in the wars which that prince had to sustain against the king of Toledo, and though Abdelmelic, the son of Mohammed, had been his bosom friend from infancy, he only waited for an opportunity of seizing his destined prey. That opportunity arrived in A. H. 452. The troops of Mohammed had just been defeated by Aben Dylnun, who followed up the success by investing Cordova. The king was too much weakened by sickness to meet the impending danger, and Abdelmelic was too feeble to avert it by his own unassisted arm. The latter prince hastened to Seville, and implored the immediate aid of his friend. By Almoateded he was received with much apparent affection, and was assured of speedy help. He returned joyful to the palace of Azhara (Cordova was too closely invested to be safely entered), where he awaited the promised arrival of his friend. That friend did arrive at the head of a considerable army, and with the aid of the citizens totally routed the forces of Dylnun. But while Abdelmelic was pursuing the fugitives, the unprincipled ally moved his army on the city, took it, and made the unsuspecting Mohammed prisoner. The shock was too great for the shattered nerves of the son of Gehwar, who soon expired of a broken heart. The fate of Abdelmelic was no less melancholy. On returning to the capital which his valour had been instrumental in saving, he was refused admission, and was at the

same instant surrounded and made a prisoner by the troops of his perfidious ally. Being consigned to a dungeon in one of the city towers, his wounds, and still more the indignation which he felt at hearing Almoateded loudly hailed as sovereign by the despicable populace,—or perhaps a violent death,—soon re-united him with his unfortunate father.* The usurper had little difficulty in procuring the huzzas of the mob. His liberality, which bordered on profusion, his magnificence, and above all, the splendour of his power, were well fitted to dazzle that unreflecting, and sometimes mischievous, portion of society.†

A. H. 456 to 472. The king of Toledo was eager to erase the shame of his defeat under the walls of Cordova; but he dreaded the power of Almoateded, and endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances. His son-in-law, the king of Valencia, refused to aid him—doubtless through fear of the Sevillian king. In a transport of fury he departed for Valencia at the head of his cavalry, surprised the place, deposed and exiled his son-in-law, and caused himself to be proclaimed (A. H. 457), before the inhabitants could take any measures for the defence of their ruler. But though his resources were thus unexpectedly increased, he was unable to contend with the formidable Almoateded, who defeated him as often as he advanced to the field. On the death, however, of that prince, whom grief for the loss of a beloved daughter brought to the tomb (461), he resumed his hostile policy. But though he triumphed over some allies of Mohammed, the son and successor of Almoateded, though he vanquished the general of that prince, though during the absence of Mohammed he surprised both Cordova and Seville, his success was transient: he was besieged in the latter city

* "Atque Abdelmeleko interfecto," says the learned interpreter (Casiri) of Abu Abdalla. We are unwilling to believe that Almoateded, however unprincipled, would proceed to that extremity; yet another account says that both father and son were put to death by the king of Seville. It is also said that the expiring Abdelmelic prayed for vengeance on the race of his persecutor, and that his prayer was heard. We shall soon witness the fate of Almoateded's descendants.

† The same authorities as before.

by his active enemy, and died there at the very moment Mohammed was advancing to take it by storm. The troops of the deceased king precipitately left the place; Cordova was recovered with little difficulty; Murcia, the ally of Toledo, was soon occcupied by the conquering Mohammed; Baeza, and other neighbouring cities, shared the same fate: in short, after so many years of continued warfare, the king of Seville and Cordova became, not merely the most powerful, but almost the only independent sovereign of Mohammedan Spain.

Yahia Alkadia, the son and successor of Aben Dylnun in the throne of Toledo, inherited neither the courage nor the abilities of that prince. Sunk in the lowest sensuality, he regarded with indifference the growing success of Mohammed. He became at length so contemptible, that his very subjects rose and expelled him. He applied for aid to the ally of his father, Alfonso VI. king of Leon; but that prince, though under the greatest obligations to the memory of the father*, was persuaded by the king of Seville to adopt a hostile policy towards the son. It seems, indeed, as if Mohammed and Alfonso, in the treaty which they concluded at the instance of the former, had tacitly agreed not to interrupt each other in the execution of the designs each had long formed. Though Yahia was restored to his throne by the king of Badajoz, his destiny, as a Mohammedan would term it, was not to be avoided. His states were laid waste, and his capital invested, by the Christian king. His situation was now critical: in vain did the king of Badajoz advance to his assistance. The victorious Alfonso triumphed over all opposition, and prosecuted the siege with a vigour which might have shown the misbelievers how formidable an enemy awaited them all, and how necessary were their combined efforts to resist him. But Mohammed, the only enemy whom the Christian hero had to dread, was no less occupied in deriving *his* share of the advantages secured by the treaty,

A. H. 472 to 478.

* See the reign of that prince in the next section.

—in reducing the strong towns of Murcia and Granada. Some zealous Mussulmans, indeed, raised their warning voice, and called on the princes of their faith from Saragossa to Granada to arm in its defence; but their voices were disregarded amidst the storm of conflicting interests and passions. After a siege of three years, Toledo was reduced to the last extremity, and was compelled to capitulate. On the 25th of May, A. D. 1085, Alfonso triumphantly entered this ancient capital of the Goths (Yahia retired to Valencia), which had remained in the power of the misbelievers about three hundred and seventy-four years.*

A. H. 478.

The fall of Toledo, however it might have been foreseen by the Mohammedans, filled them with equal dismay and indignation. As Mohammed was too formidable to be openly assailed, they turned their vociferations of anger against his hagib, whom they accused of betraying the faith of Islam. Alarmed at the universal outcry, Mohammed was not sorry that he could devolve the heavy load of responsibility on the shoulders of his minister. The latter fled; but though he procured a temporary asylum from several princes, he was at length seized by the emissaries of his offended master; was brought, first to Cordova, next to Seville; confined within the walls of a dungeon; and soon beheaded by the royal hand of Mohammed. Thus was a servant of his king sacrificed for no other reason than that he had served that king too well.

* Abu Abdalla, and Alhomaid (apud Casiri, ii. 210—214.). Ximenes Historia Arabum, cap. 47. necnon Rerum in Hispaniâ Gestarum, lib. vi. cap. 23. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii.) Chronicon Conimbricense, p. 330. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxiii.) Chronicon de Cardeña, p. 372. (in eodem tomo.) Anales Toledanos, i. 385. (in eodem tomo.) Anales Toledanos, ii. 410. (in eodem tomo.) Chronicon Lusitanum, p. 405. (apud eundem, tom. xiv.) Pelagius Ovetensis, p. 473. (in eodem tomo.) Chronicon Burgense, p. 309. (apud eundem, xxiii.) Chronicon Cerratense (apud eundem, ii. 212.) Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination des Arabes, &c. ii. 157—210. We lament to part here with Masdeu, whose unfinished work ends with the re-conquest of Toledo, A. D. 1085. To his elaborate researches we have been under the greatest obligation, but cannot too much censure the plan of his great work, which is destitute alike of taste and method, which is meagre in facts and arid in style, and which is strangely confused from the Arabian invasion to this period. It is a work which the critic and the scholar will be glad to consult, but which will never be read.

The conquest of Toledo was far from satisfying the ambition of Alfonso: he rapidly seized on the fortresses of Madrid, Maqueda, Guadalajara, and established his dominion on both banks of the Tagus. Mohammed now began seriously to repent his treaty with the Christian, and to tremble even for his own possessions. He vainly endeavoured to divert his ally from the projects of aggrandisement which that ally had evidently formed. The kings of Badajoz and Saragossa became tributaries to the latter; nay, if any reliance is to be placed on either Christian or Arabic historians*, the king of Seville himself was subjected to the same humiliation. However this may have been, Mohammed saw that unless he leagued himself with those whose subjugation had hitherto been his constant object, — the princes of his faith, — his and their destruction was inevitable. The magnitude of the danger compelled him to solicit their alliance. As the king of Saragossa was too much in fear of the Christians to enter into any league against them, and as the one of Valencia (Yahia) reigned only at the pleasure of Alfonso, the sovereigns of Badajoz, Almeria, and Granada were the only powers on whose co-operation he could calculate (he had annihilated the authority of several petty kings). He invited those princes to send their representatives to Seville, to consult as to the measures necessary to protect their threatened independence. The invitation was readily accepted. On the day appointed Mohammed, with his son Al Raxid, and a considerable number of his wasirs and cadis, were present at the deliberations. The danger

* Condé gives the translation of two letters, — one from Alfonso to Mohammed, distinguished for a tone of superiority and even of arrogance, which could arise only from the confidence felt by the writer in his own strength; the other from Mohammed to Alfonso, containing a defiance. The latter begins: —

"To the proud enemy of Allah, Alfonso ben Sancho, who calls himself lord of both nations and both laws. May God confound his arrogance, and prosper those who walk in the right way!"

One passage of the same letter says, "Fatigued with war, we were willing to offer thee an annual tribute; but this does not satisfy thee: thou wishest us to deliver into thine hands our towns and fortresses; but are we thy subjects, that thou makest such demands, or hast thou ever subdued us? Thine injustice has roused us from our lethargy," &c.

was so imminent, — the force of the Christians was so augmented, and that of the Moslems so weakened, — that such resistance as Mohammedan Spain alone could offer seemed hopeless. With this conviction in their hearts, two of the most influential cadis proposed an appeal to the celebrated African conqueror, Yussef ben Taxfin, whose arm alone seemed able to preserve the faith of Islam in the Peninsula. The proposal was received with general applause by all present: they did not make the very obvious reflection, that when a nation admits into its bosom an ally more powerful than itself, it admits at the same time a conqueror. The wali of Malaga alone, Abdálla ben Zagut, had courage to oppose the dangerous embassy under consideration. "You mean to call in the aid of the Almoravides! Are you ignorant that these fierce inhabitants of the deserts resemble their own native tigers? Suffer them not, I beseech you, to enter the fertile plains of Andalusia and Granada! Doubtless they would break the iron sceptre which Alfonso intends for us; but you would still be doomed to wear the chains of slavery. Do you not know that Yussef has taken all the cities of Almagreb, — that he has subdued the powerful tribes of the east and west, — that he has every where substituted despotism for liberty and independence?" The aged Zagut spoke in vain: he was even accused of being a secret partisan of the Christian; and the embassy was decreed. But Zagut was not the only one who foresaw the catastrophe to which that embassy must inevitably lead: Al Raxid shared the same prophetic feeling. In reply to his father, who, after the separation of the assembly, expatiated on the absolute necessity of soliciting the alliance of Aben Taxfin, as the only measure capable of saving the rest of Mohammedan Spain from the yoke of Alfonso, he said, — "This Aben Taxfin, who has subdued all that he pleased, will serve us as he has already served the people of Almagreb and Mauritania, — he will expel us from our country!"—"Any thing," rejoined the father, "rather than Andalusia should become the prey of the

Christians! Dost thou wish the Mussulmans to curse me? I would rather become an humble shepherd, a driver of Yussef's camels, than reign dependent on these Christian dogs! But my trust is in Allah."— "May Allah protect both thee and thy people!" replied Al Raxid mournfully, who saw that the die of fate was cast.*

The course of this history must be interrupted for a moment, while the origin and exploits of this formidable African are recorded.

Beyond the chain of Mount Atlas, in the deserts of ancient Getulia, dwelt two tribes of Arabian descent, — both, probably, of the greater one of Zanhaga, so illustrious in Arabian history. At what time they had been expelled, or had voluntarily exiled themselves from their native Yemen, they knew not; but tradition taught them that they had been located in the African deserts from ages immemorial. Their life was passed under the tent; their only possessions were their camels and their freedom. Yahia ben Ibrahim, belonging to one of these tribes, — that of Gudala, — made the pilgrimage of Mecca. On his return through the province of Cairwan he became acquainted with Abu Amram, a famous alfaqui, originally of Fez. Being questioned by his new friend as to the religion and manners of his countrymen, he replied that they were sunk in ignorance, both from their isolated situation in the desert and from their want of teachers: he added, however, that they were strangers to cruelty, and that they would be willing enough to receive instruction from any quarter. He even entreated the alfaqui to allow some one of his disciples to accompany him into his native country; but none of those disciples were willing to undertake so long and perilous a journey, and it was not without considerable difficulty that Abdalla ben Yaṣsim, the disciple of another alfaqui, was persuaded to accompany the patriotic Yahia. Abdalla was one of those ruling minds

* Authorities, the chronicles preserved in Florez, the fragments of Casiri, Rodericus Toletanus, Lucas Tudensis, and Condé as spoiled by Marlés.

which, fortunately for the peace of society, nature so seldom produces. Seeing his enthusiastic reception by the tribe of Gudala, and the influence he was sure of maintaining over it, he formed the design of founding a sovereignty in the heart of these vast regions. Under the pretext that to diffuse a holy religion and useful knowledge was among the most imperative of duties, he prevailed on his obedient disciples to make war on the kindred tribe of Lamtuna. That tribe submitted, acknowledged his spiritual authority, and zealously assisted him in his great purpose of gaining proselytes by the sword. His ambition naturally increased with his success: in a short time he had reduced, in a similar manner, the isolated tribes around him. To his valiant followers of Lamtuna he now gave the name of *Murabitins*, or *Almoravides*, which signifies men consecrated to the service of God.* The whole country of Darah was gradually subdued by this new apostle, and his authority was acknowledged over a region extensive enough to form a respectable kingdom. But though he exercised all the rights of sovereignty, he prudently abstained from assuming the title: he left to the emir of Lamtuna the ostensible exercise of temporal power; and when, in A. H. 450. A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058), that emir fell in battle, he nominated Abu Bekir ben Omar to the vacant dignity. His own death, which was that of a warrior, left Abu Bekir in possession of an undivided sovereignty. The power, and consequently the reputation of the emir, spread far and wide; and numbers flocked from distant provinces to share in the advantages of religion and plunder. His native plains were now too narrow for the ambition of Abu Bekir, who crossed the chain of Mount Atlas, and fixed his residence in the city of Agmat, between those mountains and the sea. But even this place was soon too

* The interpretation of Casiri is somewhat different: "Almorabidæ, quod nomen Latine sonat Confœderati," &c. Nota in Vest. Acu Pict. Abu Abdalla, ii. 219.

"Marbouth Morabeth," says D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale), "qui est le singulier de Morabethah, signifie en Arabe, une personne liée plus étroitement aux exercices de sa religion, et que nous appellons ordinairement un religieux."

confined for his increased subjects, and he looked round for a site on which he might lay the foundations of a great city, the destined metropolis of a great empire. One was at length found; and the city of Marocco began to rear its head from the valley of Eylana. Before, however, his great work was half completed, he received intelligence that the tribe of Gudala had declared a deadly war against that of Lamtuna; and that the ruin of one at least of the hostile people was to be apprehended. As he belonged to the latter, he naturally trembled for the fate of his kindred; and at the head of his cavalry he departed for his native deserts, leaving the superintendence of the buildings and the command of the army, during his absence, to his cousin, Yussef ben Taxfin.

The person and character of Yussef are drawn in the most favourable colours by the Arabian writers. We are told that his stature was tall and noble, his countenance prepossessing, his eyes dark and piercing, his beard long, his tone of voice harmonious, his whole frame, which no sickness ever assailed, strong, robust, and familiar with fatigue; that his mind corresponded with his outward appearance, his generosity, his care of the poor, his sobriety, his justice, his religious zeal, yet freedom from intolerance, rendering him the admiration of foreigners, and the love of his own people. But whatever were his other virtues, it will be seen that gratitude, honour, and good faith, were not among the number. Scarcely had his kinsman left the city, than, in pursuance of the design he had formed of usurping the supreme authority, he began to win the affections of the troops, partly by his gifts, and partly by that winning affability of manner which he could easily assume. How well he succeeded will soon appear. Nor was his success in war less agreeable to so fierce and martial a people as the Almoravides. The Berbers who inhabited the defiles of Mount Atlas, and who, animated by the spirit of independence so characteristic of mountaineers, endeavoured to vindicate their natural liberty, were quickly subdued by him. But his

A. H. 465. A. D. 1071.

policy was still superior. He had long loved, or, at least, long aspired to the hope of marrying, the beautiful Zainab, sister of Abu Bekir; but the fear of a repulse from the proud chief of his family had caused him to smother his inclination. He now disdained to supplicate for that chief's consent: he married the lady, and from that moment proceeded boldly in his projects of ambition. Having put the finishing hand to his magnificent city of Marocco, he transferred thither the seat of his empire; and by the encouragement he afforded to individuals of all nations who chose to settle there, he soon filled it with a prosperous and numerous population. The augmentation of his army was his next great object; and so well did he succeed in it that
A. H. on his departure, in a hostile expedition against Fez,
466. he found his troops exceeded one hundred thousand. With so formidable a force, he had little difficulty in rapidly extending his conquests.

Yussef had just completed the subjugation of Fez when Abu Bekir returned from the desert, and encamped in the vicinity of Agmat. He was soon made acquainted — probably common report had acquainted him long before — with the usurpation of his kinsman. With a force so far inferior to his rival's, and still more with the conviction that the hearts of the people were weaned from him, he might well hesitate as to the course he should adopt. His greatest mortification was to hear his own horsemen, whom curiosity drew to Marocco, loud in the praises of Yussef, whose liberality to the army was the theme of universal admiration, and whose service for that reason many avowed their intention of embracing. He now feared that his power was at an end, yet he resolved to have an interview with his cousin. The two chiefs met about half way between Marocco and Agmat*, and after a formal salutation took their seats on the same carpet. The appear-

* The distance is about ten or twelve leagues.

ance of Yussef's formidable guard, the alacrity with which he was obeyed, and the grandeur which surrounded him, convinced Abu Bekir that the throne of the usurper was too firmly established to be shaken. The poor emir, so far from demanding the restitution of his rights, durst not even utter one word of complaint: on the contrary, he pretended that he had long renounced empire, and that his only wish was to pass the remainder of his days in the retirement of the desert. With equal hypocrisy Yussef humbly thanked him for his abdication: the sheiks and walis were summoned to witness the renewed declaration of the emir, after which the two princes separated. The following day, however, Abu Bekir received a magnificent present from Yussef *, who, indeed, continued to send him one every year to the period of his death.†

Yussef, who, though he had refused to receive the title of almumenin, which he considered as properly belonging to the caliph of the East, had just exchanged his humble one of emir for those of almuzlemin, or prince of the believers, and of nazaradin, or defender of the faith, when the letters of Mohammed reached him. A similar application from Omar, king of Badajoz, he had disregarded, — not because he was indifferent to the glory of serving his religion, still less to the advantage of extending his conquests, but because he had not then sufficiently consolidated his power. Now, however, he was in peaceful possession of an extended empire, and he assembled his chiefs to hear A. H. 478.

* This present is made to consist of 25,000 crowns of gold, 70 horses of the best breed, all splendidly accoutred, 150 mules, 100 magnificent turbans, with as many costly habits, 400 common turbans, 200 white mantles, 1000 pieces of rich stuffs, 200 pieces of fine linen, 150 black slaves, 20 beautiful young maidens, with a considerable quantity of perfumes, corn, and cattle. Such a gift was worthy of royalty. In a similar situation, a modern English sovereign would probably have sent — one hundred pounds.

† D'Herbelot, Dictionnaire Oriental, under the respective names, Abu Abdalla, Regum Almorabitarum Series (apud Casiri Biblioth. ii. 216.). Abu Bekir, Vestis Serica (apud eundem, ii. 41.). Ximenes Rodericus, Historia Arabum, cap. 48, &c. Condè, as spoiled by Marlès, Histoire de la Domination, &c. ii. 227—238. D'Herbelot varies in several instances from the authorities of both librarians of the Escurial.

their sentiments on an expedition which he had resolved to undertake. All immediately exclaimed that war should be undertaken in defence of the tottering throne of Islam. Before, however, he returned a final answer to the king of Seville, he insisted that the fortress of Algeziras should be placed in his hands, on the pretence that if fortune were unpropitious, he should have some place to which he might retreat. That Mohammed should have been so blind as not to perceive the designs involved in the insidious proposal is almost enough to make one agree with the Arabic historians, that destiny had decreed he should fall by his own measures. The place was not only surrendered to the artful Moor, but Mohammed himself went to Marocco to hasten the departure of Yussef. He was assured of speedy succour, and induced to return. He was soon followed by the ambitious African, at the head of a mighty armament.

A. H. 479. Alfonso was besieging Saragossa, which he had every expectation of reducing, when intelligence reached him of Yussef's disembarkation. He resolved to meet the approaching storm. At the head of all the forces he could muster he advanced towards Andalusia, and encountered Yussef on the plains of Zalaca, between Badajoz and Merida. As the latter was a strict observer of the outward forms of his religion, he summoned the Christian king by letter to embrace the faith of the prophet, or consent to pay an annual tribute, or prepare for immediate battle. "I am told," added the writer, "that thou wishest for vessels to carry the war into my kingdom; I spare thee the trouble of the voyage. Allah brings thee into my presence that I may punish thy presumption and pride!" The indignant Christian trampled the letter under foot, and at the same time said to the messenger, "Tell thy master what thou hast seen! Tell him also not to hide himself during the action: let him meet me face to face!" The two armies engaged the thirteenth day of the moon Regeb,

A. H. 479.* The onset of Alfonso at the head of the Christian cavalry was so fierce, that the ranks of the Almoravides were thrown into confusion; not less successful was Sancho, king of Navarre, against the Andalusians, who retreated towards Badajoz. But the troops of Seville kept the field, and fought with desperate valour: they would, however, have given way, had not Yussef at this critical moment advanced with his reserve and his own guard, consisting of his bravest troops, and assailed the Christians in the rear and flanks. This unexpected movement decided the fortune of the day. Alfonso was severely wounded and compelled to retreat, but not until nightfall, nor until he had displayed a valour worthy of the greatest heroes. Though his own loss was severe, amounting according to the Arabians to 24,000 men, that of the enemy could scarcely be inferior, when we consider that this victory had no result: Yussef was evidently too much weakened to profit by it.†

Not long after the battle, Yussef being called to Africa by the death of a son, the command of the Almoravides devolved on Syr ben Abi Bekir, the ablest of his generals. That general advanced northwards, and

A. H. 480 to 484.

* A. H. 479. opens April 17th, 1086.

Muharram	30	April	14
Safir	29	May	31
Rabia I.	30	June	30
Rabia II.	29	July	31
Jumadi I.	30	August	31
Jumadi II.	29	September	30
Regeb	13	October	23
	190		190

Hence October 23. 1086.

† Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, et Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica (apud Casiri, ubi suprà). Rodericus Toletanus, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. vi. cap. 31, &c. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii.). Chronicon Lusitanum, p. 405. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xiv.). This authority thus relates the loss of the battle: — "Sed Diabolo adversante, timor magnus invasit plurimos nostrorum, et fugerunt ex eis multa millia, nullo eos persequente." Annales Complutenses, p. 313. (apud eundem, tom. xxiii.) Chronicon Conimbricense (in eodem tomo, p. 330.). Chronicon Cerratense (apud eundem, ii. 212.). D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale (sub variis nominibus.). Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. tom. ii.

seized some insignificant fortresses; but the advantage was but temporary, and was more than counterbalanced by the disasters of the following year. The king of Saragossa, Abu Giafar, had hoped that the defeat of Zalaca would prevent the Christians from attacking him; but that of his allies, the Mohammedan princes, in the neighbourhood, and the taking of Huesca* by the king of Navarre, convinced him how fallacious was his fancied security. Seeing that no advantage whatever had accrued from his former expedition, Yussef now proclaimed the Alhiged, or holy war, and invited all the Andalusian princes to join him. In the moon Rabia I., A.H. 481, he again disembarked at Algeziras, and joined the confederates. But this present demonstration of force proved as useless as the preceding: it ended in nothing; owing partly to the dissensions of the Mohammedans, and partly to the activity of the Christians, who not only rendered abortive the measures of the enemy, but gained some signal advantages over them. Yussef was forced to retreat on Almeida. Whether through the distrust of the Mohammedan princes, who appear to have penetrated his intention of subjecting them to his empire, or through his apprehension of Alfonso, he again returned to Africa, to procure new and more considerable levies. In A.H. 484, he landed a third time at Algeziras, not so much with the view of humbling the Christian king as of executing the perfidious design he had so long formed. For form's sake, indeed, he invested Toledo, but he could have entertained no expectation of reducing it; and when he perceived that the Andalusian princes refused to join him, he eagerly left that city, and proceeded to secure far dearer and easier interests: he openly threw off the mask, and commenced his career of spoliation.

* The events and dates of this period are strangely confounded by Mariana and Ferreras, who chiefly depend on Rodrigo of Toledo. Spanish history can never be too much indebted to Casiri and Condé. To expose the anachronisms and the mistakes of the native writers prior to the appearance of the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis would require an ample volume.

The king of Granada, Abdalla ben Balkin, was the first victim to African perfidy. In the conviction that he must be overwhelmed if resistance were offered, he left his city to welcome Yussef. His submission was vain: he was instantly loaded with chains, and with his family sent to Agmat. Timur ben Balkin, brother of Abdalla was in the same violent manner despoiled of Malaga. Mohammed now perceived the grievous error which he had committed, and the prudent foresight of his son Al Raxid. "Did not I tell thee," said the latter, mournfully, "what the consequences would be; that we should be driven from our palace and country?" —"Thou wert indeed a true prophet," replied the self-accused father; "but what power could avert the decrees of fate?" It seemed as if fate had indeed resolved that this well-meaning but misguided prince should fall by his own obstinacy; for though his son advised him to seek the alliance of Alfonso, he refused to do so until that alliance could no longer avail him. He himself seemed to think that the knell of his departing greatness was about to sound; and the most melancholy images were present to his fancy even in sleep. "One night," says an Arabic historian, "he heard in a dream his ruin predicted by one of his sons: he awoke, and the same verses were repeated: —

"'Once, Fortune carried thee in her car of triumph, and thy name was by renown spread to the ends of the earth. Now, the same renown conveys only thy sighs. Days and nights pass away, and like them the enjoyments of the world: thy greatness has vanished like a dream!'"

But if Mohammed was superstitious,—if he felt that fate had doomed him, and that resistance would be useless,—he resolved not to fall ignobly. His defence was indeed heroic; but it was vain, even though Alfonso sent him an aid of 20,000 men: his cities fell one by one; Seville was constrained to capitulate: he and his family were thrown into prison until a ship was prepared to convey them into Africa, whither their perfidious ally

had retired some weeks before. His conduct in this melancholy reverse of fortune is represented as truly great. Not a sigh escaped him, except for the innocent companions of misfortune, especially for his son, Al Raxid, whose virtues and talents deserved a better destiny. Surrounded by the best beloved of his wives, by his daughters, and his four surviving sons, he endeavoured to console them as they wept on seeing his royal hands oppressed with fetters, and still more when the ship conveyed all from the shores of Spain. "My children and friends," said the suffering monarch, "let us learn to support our lot with resignation! In this state of being our enjoyments are but lent us, to be resumed when Heaven sees fit. Joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, closely follow each other; but the noble heart is above the inconstancy of fortune!" The royal party disembarked at Ceuta, and were conveyed to Agmat, to be confined in a fortress. We are told, that on their journey a compassionate poet presented the fallen king with a copy of verses deploring his misfortunes, and that he rewarded the poet with thirty-six pieces of gold,—the only money he had left, from his once exhaustless riches. He had little apprehension of what was to follow—that Yussef would leave him without support; that his future life was to be passed in penury; nay, that his daughters would be compelled to earn his subsistence and their own by the labour of their hands. Yet even in this indigent condition, says Aben Lebuna, and through the sadness which covered their countenances, there was something about them which revealed their high origin. The unfortunate monarch outlived the loss of his crown and liberty about four years.*

* Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica, necnon Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, seu Regum Almorabitarum Series (apud Casiri, Biblioth. Arab.-Hisp. ii. 42. et 217.). Bibliotheca (apud eundem, ii. 219.). Pelagius Ovetensis Episcopus, Breve Compendium (apud Sandoval, Historias de los Cinco Obispos, p. 76., et apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xiv.). Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, ii. 238—275. See also D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, under the head Morabethah, Jousouf, &c. Abu Bakir is so ill informed of Christian affairs, that he supposes Alfonso to have fallen in the battle of Zalaca:—"Victis tandem Christianis, Alphonsus fugiens, a suis, ut creditur, ne in hostis potestatem veniret, interfectus est." The bishop of

After the fall of Mohammed, the general of Yussef had little difficulty in subduing the remaining princes of Andalusia. Valencia next received the African yoke. The king of Saragossa was more fortunate. He sent ambassadors to Yussef, bearing rich presents, and proposing an alliance with a common league against the Christians. "My dominions," said Abu Giafar, "are the only barrier between thee and the Christian princes. Hitherto my predecessors and myself have withstood all their efforts: with thy succour I shall fear them still less." Yussef accepted the proposal; a treaty of alliance was made; and the army of Abu Giafar was reinforced by a considerable body of Almoravides (A. H. 486), with whom he repelled an invasion of Sancho, king of Aragon. A third division of the Africans, which marched to destroy the sovereignty of Algarve and Badajoz, was no less successful. Badajoz capitulated; but, in violation of the treaty, the dethroned Omar, with two of his sons, was surrounded and assassinated by a body of cavalry, as he was unsuspiciously journeying from the scene of his past prosperity in search of another asylum. A third son was placed in close confinement.* A. H. 485.

Thus ended the petty kingdoms of Andalusia, after a stormy existence of about sixty years, and thus commenced the 487.

2. *Dynasty of the Almoravides.*

For some years after the usurpation of YUSSEF, peace appears to have subsisted in Spain between the Mohammedans and the Christians. Fearing a new irruption of Africans, Alfonso contented himself with fortifying Toledo; and Yussef felt little inclination to renew the 487 to 496.

Oviedo scarcely condescends to notice the success of the Mohammedans. Having minutely particularised the conquests of Alfonso, he thus speaks of the Almoravides: "Cum quibus prælia multa fecit (Adefonsus), et multa contumelia dum vixit accepit ab eis." This is all the bishop will tell us about them.

* In relating the events of these times, we omit all mention of the Cid Ruy Diaz de Bivar; not so much that, with Masdeu, we doubt his existence, as that the actions recorded of him do not rest on sufficient authority. Of this famous personage more will be said in the proper place.

war with one whose prowess he had so fatally experienced. But Christian Spain was, at one moment, near the brink of ruin. The passion for the crusades was no less ardently felt by the Spaniards than by other nations of Europe: thousands of the best warriors were preparing to depart for the Holy Land, as if there was more merit in contending with the infidels, in a remote region, for a barren sepulchre, than at home for the dearest interests of man — for honour, patriotism, and religion. Fortunately for Spain, pope Pascal II., in answer to the representations of Alfonso, declared that the proper post of every Spaniard was at home, and there were his true enemies.*

A. H. 496 to 500. In A. H. 496, Yussef visited his new possessions in the Peninsula. At Cordova, which in imitation of the Omeyas he wished to honour as the capital, he convoked his walis and sheiks, and caused his second son Ali to be proclaimed heir of his vast empire. The instructions which he gave the young prince on this occasion, were founded on wisdom, and must impress us with a favourable idea of his capacity. To confer the chief governments on the faithful sheiks of Lamtuna alone; to preserve his frontier fortresses well guarded; to employ chiefly the Andalusians against the Christians, as much better acquainted than the Africans with the enemy's mode of warfare; to maintain 17,000 horsemen of his native tribe, besides a considerable number of Moors, always in Spain; to pay his troops punctually; to preserve the existing alliance with the sovereign of Saragossa, whose states formed so desirable a rampart against the incursions of the Christians; to honour all Mussulmans, and to exercise clemency†;—were among the chief admonitions which the prince received from his father. The latter soon afterwards returned to Morocco, where he died on the third day of the moon

* When Bernardo, archbishop of Toledo, called at Rome on his way to Palestine, the pope expressed equal astonishment and displeasure that the prelate should leave his church while exposed to such dangers from the Africans. The humbled bishop returned to his see.—*Anales Toled.*

† We are told that he *never* pronounced a sentence of *death*; that his heaviest punishment was perpetual imprisonment.

Muharram, A. H. 500, after living one hundred Arabian, or about ninety-seven Christian years.*

Ali was only in his twenty-third year when he succeeded his father, whose military talents he inherited, and whom he surpassed in generosity. The readiness with which he pardoned his nephew, the son of his elder brother, who aspired to the throne, made a favourable impression on his subjects. One of his first acts was to visit Cordova, to receive the homage of the people: this was followed by a declaration of war against the Christians, the conduct of which he intrusted to his brother Temim. Near Ucles, an army of Castilians was cut to pieces, and the infant, don Sancho, the son of Alfonso, slain. But the Christian hero, though sorrowful, was not dismayed; he raised new levies, strengthened his fortifications of Toledo, and so imposed on the misbelievers that they dared not attack him. They obtained, indeed, some temporary success in Catalonia; but this was more than counterbalanced by subsequent reverses. On the death of Alfonso, however, in A. D. 1109, Ali again entered Spain at the head of 100,000 men, to prosecute in person the war against the Christians. But though he laid waste the territory of Toledo, and invested that city, he soon abandoned the siege in utter hopelessness, devastated the country as far as Madrid and Guadalaxara, and destroyed Talavera. These were poor results from such vast preparations. In the north the Christians were more fortunate. Under Alfonso I. of Aragon, they defeated and slew Abu Giafar in battle, and took Tudela. With this able Mohammedan prince ended the greatness of the kingdom of Saragossa. His son, indeed, Abdelmelic, surnamed Amad Dola, was proclaimed in his place; but though the young prince was valiant, he was unable to contend with his formidable neighbour of Aragon. His independence being threatened on the one hand by the Almoravides, who appear to have destined him to an

A. H. 500. 501. 503.

* The same authorities as before.

A. H. 510. African fortress, and on the other by the king of Aragon, in A. H. 510, he entered into an alliance with the latter, as the nearer and more dangerous of his enemies. In the same year Alfonso defeated and slew Mezdeli, the wali of Granada, and seized on Lerida. A second army sent by Ali had no better success; it was routed and compelled to retreat by the Christian king, who now openly expressed his resolution of besieging Saragossa, though the unfortunate Amad Dola did not deserve such treatment from an ally. In 512 (A. D. 1118) that important city, after a siege of some months, fell into the power of the Christians, and the north of Spain was for ever freed from the domination of the Mohammedans, though Amad Dola was permitted to reign over a diminished territory as the tributary of the Aragonese. The following year the Aragonian hero destroyed 20,000 of the Africans, who had advanced as far as the environs of Daroca; while another division of the Almoravides, under Ali in person, was compelled to retreat before the army of Leon and Castile.

514. At this very time (A. H. 514), the empire of the Almoravides was tottering to its fall. It had never been agreeable to the Mohammedans of Spain, whose manners, from their intercourse with a civilised people, were comparatively refined. The sheiks of Lamtuna were so many insupportable tyrants: the Jews, the universal agents for the collection of the revenues, were here, as in Poland, the most pitiless extortioners; every savage from the desert looked with contempt on the milder inhabitant of the Peninsula. The domination of these strangers was indeed so odious, that, except for the divisions between Alfonso and his ambitious queen donna Urraca, who was sovereign in her own right*, all Andalusia might speedily have been subjected to the Christian yoke. Even while Ali remained in Spain, an open revolt of the inhabitants, who could not longer support the ex-

* We must again observe, that the present section is not the place for entering into a minute relation of Christian affairs, which must be looked for in the next.

cesses of the barbarian guard, showed him on how precarious a basis his empire was founded. Those excesses, which consisted in laying waste the gardens, in forcibly entering the houses, in seizing the property, and insulting the wives and daughters of the Cordovans, were wholly unrestrained by the local authorities, notwithstanding the urgent representations of the sufferers. They now took righteous justice into their own hands: they rose against the Almoravides, of whom they massacred a considerable number. Ali felt that the example might be contagious, and he speedily marched on the revolted city. The inhabitants shut their gates; but at the same time sent a deputation to inform him that they had taken up arms, not against him, but their oppressors, and that they would cheerfully submit, if he would punish the guilty soldiery. At first he was too much incensed to listen to their reasonable demand; but as he found them resolved rather to perish than to submit unconditionally, and as the urgency of his African affairs was greater every day, he at length consented to treat with them.* A. H. 515.

But the cause which most menaced the existence of Ali's throne, and which was destined to change the whole face of western Africa and southern Spain, originated, like the power of Yussef ben Taxfin, in the deserts bordering on Mount Atlas. Mohammed ben Abdalla, the son of a lamp-lighter in the mosque of Cordova, was distinguished for great curiosity and an insatiable thirst for knowledge. After studying for some years in the schools of his native city, he journeyed to Bagdad, to continue his studies under the celebrated doctors of that capital of the Mohammedan world. Of these doctors none was more famous than Abu Hamid Algazali, and, perhaps, none so free in the expression of his sentiments. He had written a book on the resurrection of the sciences and the law, which the cadi of Cordova had been the first to condemn, as containing

* Authorities,—the fragments of Casiri, D'Herbelot, the bishop of Oviedo, Rodrigo of Toledo, the bishop of Tuy and Condé, as spoiled by Marlés.

opinions dangerous to the faith of Islam.* That condemnation had been approved by Ali; all the copies which could be found had been seized and committed to the flames. When Mohammed took his place among the scholars of Algazali, he was asked the natural question, whether he had ever heard his master's writings spoken of in his native city. He endeavoured to evade it; but being closely pressed by the doctor, he related what had happened. The writer grew pale; but, in a trembling voice, he demanded of Heaven vengeance on his impious judges, and on the king who had sanctioned their injustice. His disciples joined him in the prayer. "Pray Allah, also," said the stranger, "that I may be the instrument of thy vengeance!" Algazali added this prayer to the other.

Whether Mohammed was a fanatic or a knave, or composed of a large mixture of both, is not easy to be determined. On his return from Bagdad to Mauritania he had no wish to revisit his native city, where he could expect little honour: he wandered from place to place, zealously preaching the doctrines of his master. His reception, however, was long cool; and from one town, where he had held forth in the mosque, he was compelled to flee to Tremecen. On his way he fell in with a youth, Abdelmumen by name, whom he persuaded to share his fortunes; and who, as we shall soon perceive, was to prove his most efficient ally. The two friends subsequently travelled to Fez, and thence to Morocco, to inculcate the new doctrine. One day they entered the grand mosque, and Mohammed immediately occupied the most prominent seat. He was informed that the place was reserved for the iman and the prince of the faithful. "The temples belong to Allah, and to Allah alone!" was the reply of the bold intruder, who, to the surprise of the audience, repeated

* The writings of Algazali were also assailed by Mohammed ben Khalaf of Illiberis, Confutatio Operum Doctoris Algiazali, titulo Lucubrationes. Ebu Alkhatib, Bibliotheca, pars viii. (apud Casiri, ii. 87.). Spain, whether Mohammedan or Christian, was always zealous for orthodoxy.

the whole chapter of the Koran following that passage. In a few moments Ali entered, and all rose to salute him, with the exception of Mohammed, who did not even deign to cast a glance on the dreaded chief of a great empire. When the service was concluded, he approached Ali, and, in a voice loud enough to be heard by those around him, said,—"Provide a remedy for the afflictions of thy people! one day Allah will require thee to account for them!" The prince, who considered him as one of the rigidly righteous, or reputedly inspired,—a class which exist under different denominations in all Mohammedan states, and which may utter truths unpalatable to the great,—no further noticed his admonition than to ask him if he wanted any thing. "Nothing which this world can give!" he gravely replied: "my mission is to preach reformation, and to correct abuses!" Ali was struck by the words; he ordered his doctors and alfaquis to examine the principles of the pretended prophet. Most of them appeared to apprehend mischief if the impostor were allowed to harangue the multitude, which in all countries is apt to confound change with reformation. One of them, who knew the influence which governed the mob better than his brethren, said to Ali,—"To-day load this mischief-seeker with fetters, or to-morrow he may sound in thy ears the trumpet of war!"* But the hagib, on whose judgment the emperor placed implicit reliance, ridiculed fears of danger from an obscure and ignorant teacher; and contended, that the best defence against seditious doctrines was in the good sense of the people. The artful rebel was permitted to follow his vocation until the excitement produced by his fanatic appeals to the ignorant populace was too great to be overlooked, and he was ordered to leave Morocco. At a short distance from the city, however, probably in its public cemetery, he built a hut among the graves, as a residence for himself

* According to Abu Abdalla (Reges Almohaditæ, apud Casiri, ii. 219.), Mohammed fiercely disputed with the Moorish doctors on the depravation of morals, and even foretold the ruin of the empire.

and his faithful Abdelmumen. As he had anticipated, he was soon followed by crowds, who venerated his prophetic character, and who listened with pleasure to vehement denunciations which fell with terrific effect on their superiors. That, besides being zealous, he was learned and eloquent*, may be inferred both from the testimonies of historians, and from the mighty revolution he effected. His tone now became bolder: he inveighed against the impiety of the Almoravides, who appear not to have been more popular in Mauritania than in Spain. Ali, who now perceived that the opinion of his philosophic hagib was wofully disproved by experience, ordered the rebel to be secured. Mohammed, who had timely notice of the fate intended him, fled to Agmat, accompanied by a host of proselytes; but finding that his liberty was still in danger, he hastily retreated to Tinmal in the province of Suz. His success in this region was so great, that he had soon an army of disciples, all devoted to his will, because all believed in his divine mission. For some time he preached to them the coming of the great mehedi†, who should teach all men the right way, and cause virtue and happiness to reign over the whole earth; but he carefully refrained from acknowledging himself to be the mighty prophet; doubtless because he was fearful of shocking the credulity even of his own followers. One day, in conformity with a preconcerted plan, as he was expatiating on the change to be effected by the long-promised teacher and ruler, Abdelmumen and nine other men arose, saying—"Thou

* "Ferunt cum magni nominis fuisse theologum, traditiones omnes e medio sustulisse, divinoque, ut ipse jactabat, spiritu afflatum, futura præcinuisse."—*Abu Abdalla.*

† Muhadi ou Mehedi, directeur et pontife de la religion Mussulmane.—*D'Herbelot.* The term was applied, *par excellence*, to the twelfth iman of the race of Ali. The *second* coming of the great iman, who should lead all nations into the unity of faith, was and is as confidently expected as the coming of the Messias by the Jews. Hence the successful imposture of Mohammed. "Le Mehedi d'Afrique prétendoit être cet imaun." Some of the Schiites say that this twelfth iman, Mohammed Abul Cassan by name, died in A. H. 330; others, "qu'il soit encore vivant, et qu'il passe sa vie miraculeuse dans la même grotte où il fut caché quand il disparut aux yeux des hommes."—*Bibl. Orient.* The curious reader will find much to interest him in the art. Mohammed Abul Cassan, of the above elaborate and learned work.

announcest a mehedi; the description applies only to thyself. Be our mehedi and iman; we swear to obey thee!" The Berbers, influenced by the example, in the same manner arose, and vowed fidelity even unto death. From this moment he assumed the high title of mehedi, and proclaimed himself as the founder of a new people. He instituted a regular government, confiding the administration to Abdelmumen, his minister, with nine associates, but reserving the control to himself. Seventy Berbers or Alarabs formed the council of the new government. An army of 10,000 horse, and a far greater number of foot, was speedily organised, with which he took the road to Agmat just as Ali returned to Morocco from Spain.*

The wali of Suz, Abu Bekir, was ordered to disperse the rebels. But the appearance of the warrior prophet was so imposing, that the general forbore to attack him; from his truly representing the danger as much more formidable than had been apprehended, a considerable reinforcement was despatched from Morocco, and the whole army placed under the command of Ibrahim, brother of the emperor. Just as the signal for battle was given, the Almoravides fled, whether through treachery or superstition is uncertain; and the victors, if such they may be called, reaped an ample harvest of plunder. A second imperial army was vanquished after an obstinate struggle; and the proclamations of the mehedi, who invited all true Mussulmans to embrace his doctrines, on the penalty of everlasting perdition, added greatly to the embarrassments of Ali. In this state of anxiety he recalled his brother Temim from Spain, whose military reputation stood deservedly high. The new general advanced against the prophet, who had entrenched himself among the strong-holds of the Atlas mountains.

A. H. 515.

516.

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, sive Reges Almohaditarum (apud Casiri, Biblioth. Arab.-Hisp. ii. 219.). Ximenes, Historia Arabum, cap. 49. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Morabethah, Moahedoun, &c. Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. ii. 318. 327.

D'Herbelot, in his meagre account of both the Morabethah (Almoravides), and the Moahedoun (Almohades), varies sometimes considerably from Casiri, and still more from Condé.

Notwithstanding the superiority of the rebel's position, Temim ordered his soldiers to scale the mountain. For some hours they rapidly ascended; but before reaching the summit, confusion suddenly seized their foremost ranks,—the effect, beyond doubt, of their superstitious fears,—rank fell back on rank, and great numbers were forced precipitately down the rocks and dashed to pieces. The Almohades*, for such was the name assumed by the followers of Mohammed, now issued from their entrenchments, and the troops of Ali were a fourth time defeated.

A. H. 517 to 519. But to gain battles was not sufficient for the mehedi. He now wanted some strong city to which he might retire in case fortune failed him, and where he might securely carry on his preparations for the mighty object he had in view. The situation of Tinmal was admirably adapted for his purpose. Placed on an elevated site, amidst the wildest mountains of the Daren chain, which extends from Tremecen to the ocean, and accessible only by two narrow defiles, each eight or ten leagues in length—the one leading to the great desert, the other to Morocco—a little labour only was required to render it impregnable. The road through these defiles, which was cut in the solid stone, which had on one hand frightful precipices, on the other perpendicular rocks, was intersected by several deep ravines, over which drawbridges were thrown. But as if these natural and artificial advantages were insufficient, Tinmal was surrounded with thick walls; and as in the midst of the elevation a lofty and rugged rock reared its head, commanding a view of the neighbouring mountains, a fortress was built on this summit, the ascent to which was by steps cut in the solid material. A broad fertile valley, stretching from the base of the elevation, and highly

* "Le véritable nom de cette secte fut Almohedi, c'est à dire Unitaires, parce que son principal institut étoit d'extirper les idolâtres qui reconnoissoient plusieurs dieux, et les Chrétiens qui adorent un seul Dieu en trois personnes."—*Ferreras* (Hermilly's translation), tom. iii. p. 347.

cultivated, furnished his followers with some of the more useful necessaries; but as the number increased, he despatched bodies of cavalry to plunder the inhabited plains beyond the defiles. The suffering people laid their complaints before Ali, who, by erecting a strong fortress at the mouth of one of these avenues, intercepted the inroads of these holy banditti, so long as they advanced in small bodies only.

At length Mohammed resolved to renew the war on the chief of the Almoravides, and to reduce the capital of Morocco. At his voice, 40,000 men took the field. As he was retained at Tinmal by an illness from which he had little hope of recovery, the white banner was intrusted to the sheik Abu Mohammed el Baxir, one of the ten who were sent with the army, A.H. 519. The preparations of Ali were immense: 100,000 men were ranged round his standard. They were again defeated, were pursued to the very walls of Morocco, and that capital invested with a vigour which showed that the Almohades were intent on its reduction. In the sorties made by the besieged, success remained on the side of the assailants, so that discouragement seized on the former. It is probable that Ali would soon have been compelled to capitulate, had not one of his inferior officers, Abdalla ben Humusqui by name, a native of Andalusia, importuned him to permit that officer to make another sortie at the head of 600 chosen men, and had not success attended the daring action. The little party returned with 300 heads of the enemy; a feat which proved that the Almohades were not invincible, and which infused new courage into the Almoravides. In this favourable disposition of mind, Ali led his troops against the rebels, whom he completely routed, Aben Baxir remaining dead on the field. The loss on the part of the besiegers would have been fatal, had not Abdelmumen rallied the fugitives, and effected an orderly retreat. When intelligence of this disaster reached Tinmal, the only question asked by Mohammed was, A. H. 519

"Does Abdelmumen still live?" And on being answered in the affirmative, he added—"Then our empire is not lost!" But time was necessary to repair the misfortune, especially as some of the savage tribes of the desert withdrew from his banner, on finding that his power was that of a mere mortal.*

But if the Almoravides were this time successful in Africa, in Spain their affairs were growing daily worse. Alfonso of Aragon not only openly defied their force, but made an insulting tour through Andalusia, defeating all who opposed him, driving away the cattle of the fields, and laying waste the labours of the husbandmen. Yet this expedition availed him nothing: the Muzarabs of Granada, many of whom joined his army, had flattered him with the hope of obtaining that city; but on finding Temim, who had just arrived from Africa, drawn up under the walls of the place, he desisted from what he considered a hopeless enterprise. He turned aside to continue his system of pillage, was followed and assailed in the mountains; but inflicted so terrible a blow on the Almoravides, that they retreated to their fortresses, leaving him to work his pleasure on the open plains. Arriving on the borders of the Mediterranean, he caused some fish to be caught, which he ate on the beach, to fulfil, as he said, a vow that he would eat fish, ere his return, on the coast of Granada. Having remained in Andalusia as long as he felt disposed, he slowly returned to his dominions, bringing with him a considerable number of Muzarabs, whom he settled chiefly in Saragossa. But their brethren were punished for this daring outrage of the king, or rather for their supposed participation in it. By order of Ali, such as were suspected of corresponding with him were exiled to Africa; the rest of the Muzarabs was dispersed in the interior of Mohammedan Spain. In A. H. 520, Temim died at Granada, and was succeeded in the government of the country by Taxfin, the son of Ali, who in two succeed-

* The same authorities as last quoted, except Ximenes, Historia Arabum.

ing engagements triumphed over the Christians of Leon, but derived no advantage from his success.*

The period was now come when the mehedi again resolved to try the fortune of war. With 30,000 cavalry, and a considerable number of infantry, he hoped to wipe out the stain of the last defeat under the walls of Morocco. As his illness still continued, he confided the command to his favourite disciple Abdelmumen, whom he invested with the dignity of imam. In A. H. 523, the new general completely defeated the Almoravides, and pursued them as before to the gates of Morocco. But he forbore to besiege the place, doubtless from a persuasion that his present forces were unequal to the enterprise; and he returned to Tinmal. The mehedi came out to meet him, praised his conduct, and the valour of his troops, and commanded all to assemble the following day near the great mosque, to bid adieu to their chief. All wondered at the command, except such as were acquainted with his long hidden disease. When all were met, he exhorted them to persevere in the doctrine he had taught them; announced his approaching death; and, when he saw them dissolved in tears, inculcated the duty of resignation to the divine will. He then retired with his beloved disciple, to whom he presented the book containing the tenets of his faith,—a book which he had received from the hands of Algazali. The fourth day he expired, which was the third of the moon Muharram, A. H. 524. His manners are represented as rigid, and his character as severe. He was sanguinary, we are told, as the tiger of the desert: those whom he condemned to death—and the least crimes were so punished—were often buried alive. The chiefs of the state were soon afterwards assembled to deliberate on the form of govern-

A. H. 523 to 536.

* Zurita, Anales de la Corona de Aragon (regno de Alfonso I.). Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, p. 334, &c. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxi.). This chronicle of the emperor Alfonso is the most valuable of all in these times: it is clear, comparatively minute, and faithful. Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. tom. ii.

ment: a monarchy was chosen; and, by their unanimous suffrages, Abdelmumen was proclaimed imam and almumenin.

For the next three years the new caliph was diligently employed in extending his conquests. The whole country, from the mountains of Darah to Salé, all Fez and Teza, received his spiritual and temporal yoke. The empire of the Almoravides was now bounded within a narrow sphere. Ali became dejected and unhappy: his troops were every where defeated; his towns were rapidly delivered into the power of a savage enemy, who had vowed his destruction; and though, in compliance with the advice of his counsellors, he associated with him in the empire his son Taxfin, whose exploits in Spain had obtained him much celebrity, that prince was long too busily occupied with the Christians, and his discontented subjects of Andalusia, to prop the declining empire in Africa.

Though Alfonso, the king of Aragon, had fallen at the siege of Fraga, the Almoravides had met with an equally valiant foe in his son, Alfonso Raymond, king of Leon and Castile. Several of the Andalusian cities openly rebelled, and were not reduced to obedience without incredible efforts, and without the exhibition of equal valour and decision on the part of Taxfin; and after that prince joined his father to repel the formidable Abdelmumen, the affairs of both suffered greatly by his absence. In A. H. 533, the count of Portugal triumphed over the Almoravides on the famous plains of Ourique, when his soldiers unanimously hailed him as king. Finally, the bloody contentions which broke out between the Andalusians and the Africans; the struggles of each for the fairest cities of Mohammedan Spain; the triumph of the former; the expulsion of the latter from most of the places they had so long occupied; and, above all, the victories of Abdelmumen in Mauritania, brought the proud empire of the Almoravides to the very brink of ruin.

A. H. 533.

TAXFIN BEN ALI succeeded in A. H. 537* to his father, who died at Morocco, more from grief at the declining state of affairs, than from any other cause. His first object was to assemble an army to strike another blow for the defence of his empire. At first he was successful. Abdelmumen was compelled to fall back on his mountain; but in a second action Taxfin was defeated; in a third he was also compelled to retreat. Being pursued into Tremecen, he made a vigorous defence; and, after a few unsuccessful assaults, Abdelmumen, leaving a considerable force to continue the siege, turned his arms against Oran, the reduction of which he hoped would prevent the meditated flight of Taxfin from Mauritania into Andalusia. Vessels, indeed, were lying in that port ready to receive the unfortunate monarch, should Africa be lost to him. As it was impossible for him longer to withstand the hostilities of Abdelmumen, and as his treasures were already in Oran, he attached the highest importance to the preservation of that place. Taking a small but determined body of horsemen from Tremecen, he cut his way through the camp of the Almohades, and threw himself into Oran, which was on the point of capitulating. It now held out with renewed vigour; but the perseverance of the besiegers was not in the least diminished, and Ali saw that his only hope of safety lay in an escape to Spain. One night he resolved to make a desperate effort to gain the port where his vessels were still riding at anchor. Unfortunately either he mistook his way, or his mule was terrified by the roaring of the waves; for the next morning his mangled corpse was found at the foot of a precipice on the beach. His head was sent to Tinmal; Oran capitulated, and Abdelmumen entered it in triumph, early in the moon Muharram, A. H. 540.

A. H. 537 to 539.

* Abu Abdalla (apud Casiri, ii. 218.) assigns 537 as the period of Ali's death; Condé (supposing Marlés to be right) gives 739: we prefer the account of the former; for, as Taxfin himself died in 739, there seems too little time for the actions recorded of him, if we admit the same year to have witnessed his accession and fall.

A. H. 540. But Morocco, Fez, and some other cities were yet in the power of the Almoravides, who raised IBRAHIM ABU ISHAC, son of Taxfin, to the throne. The vindictive Abdelmumen, however, left them little time to breathe. Tremecen he took by assault, and massacred the inhabitants; Fez he also reduced; so that Morocco was now the only city which acknowledged Ibrahim. While Abdelmumen undertook to reduce it, he despatched his general, Abu Amram, to invade Andalusia. Several of the walis, who, after expelling the Almoravides, began to reign as petty sovereigns, finding that they were too feeble to maintain themselves in their usurped authority, declared for the Almohades. Algeziras, Gibraltar, and Xeres opened their gates without delay; and Aben Cosai, the governor of Algarve, joined Abu Amram
541. with all his forces. In the mean time the siege of Morocco was prosecuted with vigour. The inhabitants were so fatally repulsed in a sortie, that they durst no longer venture outside the walls. Famine soon aided the sword: the number who died of starvation is said to have amounted to three fourths of the whole population. Such a place could not long hold out; and, accordingly, it was carried in the first general assault. Ibrahim and the surviving sheiks were instantly brought before the conqueror. On seeing the youth and prepossessing appearance of the emperor, Abdelmumen showed some signs of pity, and even an intention to spare him, when one of his generals exclaimed, "Wilt thou spare a young lion, which may one day devour us all?" At the same moment Ibrahim knelt, and begged for life: "Wretch!" cried one of his sheiks and kinsmen, "why add shame to misfortune? Art thou kneeling to a father, or to a wild beast which lives only on blood?" The expostulation of his own sheik, and the irritating apostrophe of the Moor, sealed the fate of Ibrahim. Not only were he and his chiefs led out to instant execution, but a general massacre of the surviving inhabitants was ordered. The few who were spared were sold as slaves; the mosques were destroyed,

and new ones erected; and the tribes of the desert were called to re-people the now solitary streets.*

During these memorable exploits in Africa, the Christians were rapidly increasing their dominions. Coria, Mora, &c. were in the power of Alfonso, styled the emperor; and almost every contest between the two natural enemies had turned to the advantage of the Christians. So long, indeed, as the walis were eager only to preserve or to extend their authority, independent of each other and of every superior, this success need not surprise us: we may rather be surprised that the Mohammedans were allowed to retain any footing in the Peninsula. Probably they would at this time have been driven from it but for the seasonable arrival of the victorious Almohades. Both Christians and Africans now contended for the superiority. While the troops of Alfonso reduced Baeza, and, with a Mohammedan ally, even Cordova, Malaga and Seville acknowledged Abu Amram. Calatrava and Almeria next fell to the Christian emperor, about the same time that Lisbon and the neighbouring towns received don Enrique, the new sovereign of Portugal. Most of these conquests, however, were subsequently recovered by the Almohades. Being reinforced by a new army from Africa, the latter pursued their successes with greater vigour. They reduced Cordova, which was held by an ally of Alfonso; defeated, and for ever paralysed, the expiring efforts of the Almoravides; and proclaimed their emperor Abdelmumen as sovereign of all Mohammedan Spain.† A.H. 543 to 558.

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, sive Regum Almorabitarum Series, necnon Reges Almohad. (apud Casiri Bibl. Arab. Hisp. ii. 218—220.). Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. ii. 334—395. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Moahedoun, &c.

† The same authorities, with the addition of Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xxi.), and the Anales Toledanos, i. (apud eundem, p. 388.). Chronicon Conimbricense, p. 332. (apud eundem, tom. xxiii.), and Chronicon Lusitanum (apud eundem, xiv. 407, &c.).

3. *Dynasty of the Almohades.*

A. H. 543 to 558. ABDELMUMEN, as if desirous of subduing, not merely what had formed the empire of the Almoravides, but all the regions which owned the faith of Islam, levied army after army; so that from Portugal to Tunis and Cairwan his wild hordes spread devastation and dismay. To detail the events of the wars sustained by his general, or his son, the Cid Yussef, in Andalusia, would afford little interest to the reader. It will be sufficient to observe, that, by slow but sure degrees, the whole of Andalusia was incorporated with his empire. Once only did he visit Spain, if remaining a few hours at Gibraltar can deserve the name. In A. H. 557, however, on hearing of the dissensions existing among the Christian princes after the death of the emperor Alfonso, he declared his determination of subduing all Spain in person. He solemnly published the alhiged, or holy war; and at the call, all western and northern Africa was in motion, from Tunis to the ocean, and from the Great Desert to Ceuta. Sulé was the rendezvous for his formidable army, which is said — no doubt the number is exaggerated — to have consisted of 100,000 horse and 300,000 foot. With this force — the greatest which had been seen since the days of the emir Abderahman — he regarded the subjugation of the country as inevitable. But an enemy, against which not all his armies could avail him, now assailed him: on the 8th day of Jumadi II, A. H. 558, he breathed his last. He had always designed his son Cid Mohammed for his successor; but, from some dissatisfaction with the conduct of that prince, he changed his will, six days before his death, in favour of his son Yussef, whose talents he had long learned to appreciate.*

558 to 572. On his accession, YUSSEF ABU YACUB dismissed the army which lay at Sulé. During the following few years he appears to have cultivated the blessings of peace: it

* Authorities, the fragments of Casiri, D'Herbelot, and Condé, by Marlés, nearly in the places last quoted.

was not until A. H. 566 that he entered Spain, for the first time since his elevation. He found the country tranquil, with the exception of some occasional acts of hostility committed by Mohammed ben Sad, king of Valencia, who, being usually in alliance with the Christians, had been able to set at defiance the power of the Almohades; but owing to this very alliance his throne was insecure. Soon after Yussef's arrival, the wali of Xucar, who had hidden himself in Valencia during the absence of Mohammed, so wrought on the fanaticism of the inhabitants, that they consented to introduce the Almohades into the city. In vain did the deposed king endeavour to recover his throne: after three months of ineffectual hostilities, he sought an asylum in Majorca; his sons, who were walis of Denia, Murcia, Alicante, &c. being too weak to contend with the Almohades, declared themselves vassals of Yussef. Thus all Mohammedan Spain owned the emperor.*

Notwithstanding the destructive wars which had prevailed near a century, neither Moors nor Christians had acquired much advantage by them. From the reduction of Saragossa to the present time, the victory, indeed, had generally declared for the Christians: but their conquests, with the exception of Lisbon and a few fortresses in central Spain, were lost almost as soon as gained; and the same fate attended the equally transient successes of the Mohammedans. The reason why the former did not permanently extend their territories, were their internal dissensions: while Leon was at war with Castile, or Castile with Leon, or either with Aragon, we need not wonder that the united Almoravides, or their successors the Almohades, should sometimes triumph; but those triumphs were sure to be followed by reverses whenever not all, but any one, of the Christian states was at liberty to assail its natural enemy. The Christians, when at peace among themselves, were always too many for their Mohammedan neighbours, even when the latter were aided by the whole power of western Africa.

* On this occasion Yussef built a magnificent mosque at Seville.

A. H. 572 to 583. In A. H. 572 the king of Castile reduced Caenza, and the Moors were defeated before Toledo: the following year the Portuguese were no less successful before Abrantes, which the Africans had besieged. These disasters roused the wrath of Yussef; but as an obscure rebellion required his presence at that time in Mauritania, he did not land in Spain until A. H. 580. He marched without delay against Santarem, which his soldiers had vainly besieged some years before. Wishing to divide the Portuguese force, he one night sent an order to his son Cid Abu Ishac, who lay encamped near him, to march with the Andalusian cavalry on Lisbon. The officer who carried the order instead of Lisbon named Seville: the whole Mussulman army were sure that some disaster was impending, and that the siege was to be raised: before morning the camp was deserted, the guard alone of Yussef remained. While he despatched orders to recall the alarmed fugitives, the Christians, who were soon aware of the retreat, issued from the walls, surrounded and massacred the guard. Yussef defended himself like a hero: six of the advancing assailants he laid low, before the same fate was inflicted on himself. The merciless carnage of the Christians spared not even his female attendants. At this moment two companies of cavalry arrived, and, finding their monarch dying, furiously charged the Christians, whom they soon put to flight. In a few hours the whole army returned, and, inspired with the same hope of vengeance, they stormed and took the place, and put every living creature to the sword.*

583 to 594. YACUB BEN YUSSEF, from his victories afterwards named Almansor, who was then in Spain, was immediately declared successor to his father. For some years he was not personally opposed to the Christians, though his walis carried on a desultory indecisive war: he was long detained in Africa, first in quelling some domestic

* Chronicon Conimbricense (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xxiii. 330, &c.). Chronicon Lusitanum (apud eundem, xiv. 408.). Annales Compostellani, p. 322. (apud eundem, tom. xxiii.). Anales Toledanos, i. p. 388. (in eodem tomo). Anales Toledanos, ii. p. 404. (in eodem tomo). To these Christian authorities add the Mohammedan writers so frequently quoted.

commotions, and afterwards by severe illness. He was scarcely recovered, when the intelligence that the Christians were making insulting irruptions to the very outworks of Algeziras, made him resolve on punishing their audacity. His preparations were of the most formidable description. In 591 he landed in Andalusia, and proceeded towards Valencia, where the Christian army then lay. There Alfonso VIII. king of Castile was awaiting the expected reinforcements from his allies, the kings of Leon and Navarre. Both armies pitched their tents on the plains of Alarcon. The chiefs of both naturally felt anxious for the result; but the charge of rashness cannot be erased from the memory of Alfonso, for venturing to withstand, alone, a conflict with the overwhelming force of the enemy, instead of falling back to effect a junction with his allies. On the eve of the battle, Yacub convoked a council of war; but such was the multitude of his officers, that he was compelled to receive in his tent first the Almohades, next the Alarabes, now the Berber sheiks, then the officers of the volunteer troops, and, lastly, the Andalusians. To the last he said, "I have found among the different officers I have just consulted many of great valour, and ready to die, if need be, for the defence of the faith; but I have conversed with none acquainted with the tactics of these infidels. For this reason, my confidence, brave Andalusians, must rest on you alone."—"Prince of the true believers," was the reply, we have among us an officer on whose talents and courage thou mayest rely: consult him!" From the advice of this officer, Yacub drew up the plan for the battle: the Almohades and Andalusians were to lead the attack; the Berber troops and the volunteers were to sustain it; the third division, containing the royal guard and the negroes, commanded by the king in person, were to take a circuit, and during the action fall on the flanks of the enemy. The following day the Christians commenced the attack, and with so much impetuosity that the centre was soon broken. But an Andalusian chief conducted a strong body of his men against Alfonso, A. H. 591.

who with the reserve occupied a hill above the plain. While the struggle was in all its fury, Yacub and his division took the Christians in flank. The result was fatal to the Castilian army, which, discouraged at what it considered a new enemy, gave way in every direction. Alfonso, preferring an honourable death to the shame of defeat, prepared to plunge into the heart of the Mohammedan squadrons, when his nobles surrounded him, and forced him from the field. His loss must have been immense, amounting probably to 20,000 men. With a generosity very rare in a Mohammedan, and still more in an African, Yacub restored his prisoners to liberty,—an action for which, we are informed, he received few thanks from his followers. Alfonso retreated to Toledo just as the king of Leon arrived with the promised reinforcement. The latter naturally upbraided him for his rashness,—perhaps in no very courteous terms; for the two kings quarrelled, and separated as enemies. The king of Leon, returning to his states, laid waste the territories of Castile, in revenge for the insulting expressions of his exasperated ally; and the king of Navarre, when he heard that he too had not been spared in the ill-humoured remarks of the Castilian, followed the example set him by his brother of Leon. Alfonso prepared to make war on both, as if he had not sustained any defeat, and as if he had nothing whatever to fear from the victorious forces of Yussef! This criminal folly is very characteristic of the Christian princes of Spain during the middle ages. He was at length persuaded to sue for peace with the king of Navarre; but only that he might have leisure to fall with greater effect on his cousin of Leon. Fortunately for the interests of Christianity and of Spain, the timely interference of the prelates brought about a reconciliation between the two princes: Alfonso even consented to bestow the hand of his daughter Berengaria on the king of Leon.* From this marriage a prince was born (St. Fernando), who

* The pope subsequently annulled this marriage; but the legitimacy of Fernando was never disputed.

united the two crowns. After this signal victory Yacub rapidly reduced Calatrava, Guadalaxara, Madrid and Esalona, Salamanca, &c. Toledo, too, he invested, but in vain. He returned to Africa, caused his son Mohammed to be declared wali alhadi, and died, the 22d day of the moon Regeb, A. H. 595.* He left behind him the character of an able, a valiant, a liberal, a just, and even magnanimous prince,—of one who laboured more for the real welfare of his people than any other potentate of his age. He was, beyond doubt, the greatest and best of the Almohades.†

The character of MOHAMMED ABU ABDALLA, surnamed Alnassir, was very different from that of his great father. Absorbed in effeminate pleasures, he paid little attention to the internal administration of his empire, or to the welfare of his people. Yet he was not insensible to martial fame; and he accordingly showed no indisposition to forsake his harem for the field. After quelling two inconsiderable rebellions, he prepared to punish the audacity of Alfonso of Castile, who made destructive inroads into Andalusia. Much as the world had been astounded at the preparations of his grandfather Yussef, they were not surpassed by his own, if, as we are credibly informed, one alone of the five divisions of his army amounted to 160,000 men. It is certain that a year was required for the assembling of this vast armament, that two months were necessary to convey it across the straits, and that all Christian Eu- A. H. 595 to 607.

* A. H. 595 opens Nov. 2. 1198.

Muharram	30	November	29
Safir	29	December	31
Rabia I.	30	January	31
Rabia II.	29	February	28
Jumadi I.	30	March	31
Jumadi II.	29	April	30
Regeb	22	May	19
	199		199

Hence May 19. 1199.

† Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, seu Reges Almohad, (apud Casiri Bibl. ii. 220. Almohaidus, Supplementum (apud eundem, ii. 221.). Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c., ii. 417—446. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Jacoub, &c. To these add the Christian authorities—the Chronicles in the invaluable work of Florez—last quoted.

rope was filled with alarm at its disembarkation. Innocent III. proclaimed a crusade to Spain; and Rodrigo of Toledo, the celebrated historian, accompanied by several prelates, went from one court to another to rouse the Christian princes. While the kings of Aragon and Navarre* promised to unite their forces with their brother of Castile to repel the common danger, great numbers of volunteers from Portugal† and southern France hastened to the general rendezvous at Toledo, the pope ordered fasting, prayers, and processions to be made, to propitiate the favour of Heaven, and to avert from Christendom the greatest danger that had threatened it since the days of the emir Abderahman.

A. H. 608. Mohammed opened the campaign of A. H. 608 by the siege of Salvatierra, a strong but not important fortress of Estremadura, defended by the knights of Calatrava. That he should waste his forces on objects so incommensurate with their extent, proves how little he was qualified to wield them. The place stood out for several months, and did not surrender until the emperor had sustained a heavy loss, nor until the season was too far advanced to permit any advantage to be derived from this partial success. By suspending the execution of his great design until the following season, he allowed Alfonso time to prepare for the contest. The following June, the kings of Leon and Castile having assembled at Toledo, and been joined by a considerable number of foreign volunteers‡, the Christian army advanced towards the south. That of the infidels lay in the neighbourhood of Baeza, and extended to the Sierra Morena. As the former passed, the strong fortresses of Malagon and Calatrava were wrested from the

* Sancho king of Navarre is justly accused of backwardness, at least, in joining the Christian alliance. He even, sought that of Yacub and Mohammed, on condition that his own states should be spared, or perhaps amplified at the expense of his neighbours. If the Arabian writers are correct, he privately waited on Mohammed in Seville; but the result of the interview is unknown.

† The king of Portugal was not present in this campaign, confidently as the contrary has been asserted by most historians. La Clede, Histoire Générale de Portugal, tom. ii.

‡ Some of these were furnished by Simon de Montfort, then engaged in the war against the Albigenses.

Mohammedans; conquests which more than counterbalanced the loss of Salvatierra. But here a misfortune befell the Christian cause which damped the ardour of its supporters. The foreign volunteers, after the capitulation of the latter fortress, declared their resolution to return home; and return they did, in opposition to the entreaties of Alfonso and his ally of Aragon. That they were disappointed in the share of plunder they expected, and at the escape of the garrison, whom they had piously hoped to massacre, is probable both from their ferocious habits, and from the devastations they committed even on the possessions of their allies. As these holy robbers returned by way of Toledo, they endeavoured to obtain an entrance; but the inhabitants, who knew them too well, shut the gates in their faces, and from the ramparts upbraided them both for their cowardice and for the desertion of their religion. This loss of near 30,000 men greatly weakened the crusaders; but the seasonable though tardy arrival of don Sancho, king of Aragon, with a considerable reinforcement, raised their courage.

On July 12th, the crusaders reached the mountainous chain which divides New Castile from Andalusia.* They found not only the passes, but the summits of the mountains, occupied by the Almohades. To force a passage was impossible; and they even deliberated on retreating, so as to draw out, if possible, the enemy from positions so formidable, when a shepherd † entered the camp of Alfonso, and proposed to conduct the Christian army, by a path unknown to both armies, to the summit of this elevated chain,—by a path, too, which would be invisible to the enemy's outposts. A few companies having accompanied the man, and found him equally faithful and well informed, the whole army

A. H 608.

* At the port of Muradal, above an hour's brisk ride from Tolosa.

† "*Missus a Deo*," says Roderic, and the same is said by king Alfonso and don Lucas of Tuy. Of course this shepherd must be an angel. "Mas de 300 años despues del suceso comenzaron algunos á decir que aquel aldeano fue San Isidro, labrador, natural de Madrid. Des de entonces hasta nuestros dias ha tenido esta opinion contrarios y defensores." — *Ortiz, Compendio Cronologico de la Historia de España*, tom. iii. p. 251.

silently ascended, and entrenched themselves on the summit, the level of which was extensive enough to contain them all. Below appeared the wide-spread tents of the Moslems, whose surprise was great on perceiving the heights thus occupied by the crusaders. For two days the latter, whose fatigues had been harassing, kept their position; but on the third day they descended into the plains of Tolosa, which were about to be immortalised by their valour. Their right wing was led by the king of Navarre, their left by the king of Aragon, while Alfonso took his station in the centre. Mohammed had drawn up his army in a similar manner; but, with a strong body of reserve, he occupied an elevation well defended besides by vast iron chains, which surrounded his impenetrable guard.* In one hand he held a useless scimitar, in the other the Koran. The attack was made by the Christian centre against that of the Mohammedans; and immediately the two wings moved against those of the enemy. The African centre, which consisted of the 160,000 volunteers, made a determined stand; and though it was broken, it soon rallied, on being reinforced from the reserve. At one time, indeed, the superiority of number was so great on the part of the Mussulmans, that the troops of Alfonso appeared about to give way. At this moment that king, addressing the archbishop Rodrigo, who was with him, said,—"Let us die here, prelate!" and he prepared to rush amidst the dense ranks of the enemy. The prelate, however, and a Castilian general, retained him by the bridle of his horse, representing the rashness of his purpose, and advising him to reinforce his weak points by new succours. Accordingly those succours, among which were the vassals with the pennon of the archbishop, advanced to support the sinking Castilians. This manœuvre decided the fortune of the day.† The Moham-

* These chains are not mentioned by the Arabs; but what can be expected from their brevity?

† The standard-bearer of Rodrigo, don Domingo Pasquel, canon of Toledo, showed that he was well fitted to serve the church militant; he twice carried his banner through the heart of the Mohammedan forces.

medan centre, after a sharp conflict, was again broken, this time irretrievably, and a way opened to the entrenchments of the emperor. Seeing the success of their allies, the two wings charged their opponents with double fury, and triumphed likewise. But the Africans * rallied round Mohammed, and presented a mass deep and formidable to the conquerors. Rodrigo, with his brother prelate, the archbishop of Narbonne, now incited the Christians to overcome this last obstacle: both intrepidly accompanied the van of the centre. The struggle was terrific, but short: myriads of the barbarians fell; the boundary was first broken down by the king of Navarre; the Castilians and Aragonese followed; all opponents were massacred or fled; and the victors began to ascend the eminence on which Mohammed still remained. Seeing the total destruction or flight of his vast host, the emperor sorrowfully exclaimed, "Allah alone is just and powerful; the devil is false and wicked!" Scarcely had he uttered the truism, when an Alarab approached, leading by the hand a strong but nimble mule. "Prince of the faithful!" said the African, "how long wilt thou remain here? Dost thou not perceive that thy Mussulmans flee? The will of Allah be done! Mount this mule, which is fleeter than the bird of heaven, or even the arrow which strikes it: never yet did she fail her rider: away! for on thy safety depends that of us all!" Mohammed mounted the beast, while the Alarab ascended the emperor's horse, and both soon outstripped not only the pursuers but the fugitives. The carnage of the latter was dreadful, until darkness put an end to it. The victors now occupied the tents of the Mohammedans, while the two martial prelates sounded the *Te Deum* for the most splendid success which had shone on the banners of the Christians since the time of Charles Martel. The loss of the Africans, even according to the Arabian writers, who admit that the centre was wholly destroyed, could not fall short of 160,000 men.†

* The Arabian account says that the Andalusians were the first to flee.

† Of this great battle we have an account by four eye-witnesses: — 1. By king Alfonso, in a letter to the pope; 2. by the historian Rodrigo of To-

The reduction of several towns, from Tolosa to Baeza immediately followed this glorious victory,—a victory in which don Alfonso nobly redeemed his failure in the field of Zalaca, and which, in its immediate consequences, involved the ruin of the Mohammedan empire in Spain. After an unsuccessful attempt on Ubeda, as the hot season was raging, the allies returned to Toledo, satisfied that the power of Mohammed was for ever broken. That emperor, indeed, did not long survive his disaster. Having precipitately fled to Morocco, he abandoned himself to licentious pleasures, left the cares of government to his son, or rather his ministers, and died the 10th day of the moon Shaffan, A. H. 610, not without suspicion of poison.*

A. H. 610 to 620. The reign of YUSSEF ABU YACUB, who was only eleven years of age on the death of his father, was a scene of continued troubles. His uncles, the governors of Spain and Mauritania, took advantage of his minority to aim at absolute independence in their respective governments. As he grew in years, he exhibited no signs of capacity or vigour: his days were passed in his harem, or with his shepherds in superintending the breeding of sheep. † His death without issue, in A. H. 620, was the signal for troubles. ABUL MELIC ABDELWAHID, brother of Mohammed Anasir, succeeded to the disputed inheritance; but in eight months the very sheiks who had elected him deprived him at once of empire and of life, in favour of ABDALLAH ABU MOHAM-

620.

ledo; 3. by Arnaud, archbishop of Narbonne; 4. by the author of the Annals of Toledo.

By recent writers of Spain, the number of slain on the part of the Africans was 200,000; on that of the Christians, twenty-five individuals only! Of course, the whole campaign is represented as miraculous; and, indeed, actual miracles are recorded, which we have neither space nor inclination to notice.

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, seu Reges Almohad. (apud Casiri Bibl. Arab. Hisp. ii. 220.). Ximenes, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. viii. cap. 9—11. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii.). Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. ii. 447—466. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Mouhammed. Chronicon Burgense, p. 309. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxiii.). Annales Compostellani, p 323. (apud eundem et in eodem tomo). Anales Toledanas, 1. (in eodem tomo, p. 395, &c.). These annals contain the best account of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Chronicon Cerratense (apud eundem, ii. 212.).

† "Is omni animi remisso vigore, curam tantum in alenda animalia lucri causâ contulit."—*Abu Abdalla.*

MED, surnamed *Aladel*, governor of Valencia and Murcia, who had assumed the regal title. This prince never left Spain: indeed he was too busily occupied in defending his states against Fernando III., king of Leon, and heir to the crown of Castile, to think of abandoning the country. But the Christian hero was not to be resisted. The brother of Aladel, who reigned at Baeza and Jaen, was compelled to own the supremacy of Fernando; and the same fate was eventually forced on Aladel himself. This subjection, or rather, perhaps, the disposition he showed to restrain the tyranny of the walis, which had been unbounded since the defeat of Tolosa, occasioned his fall. A conspiracy was formed against him, and he was strangled in his bed, A. H. 622.

ALMAMUN ABU ALI, brother of Aladel, was next proclaimed king of Mauritania and Spain. He, too, by his projected reforms, made as many enemies as there were walis. Of these enemies, however, the most vindictive were the members of the two councils which had been instituted by the mehedi, and the powers of which he openly declared his resolution of modifying. It was time, indeed, that these haughty senators, who had procured the destruction of the two preceding monarchs, should be displaced. But their authority was great, because in some degree sacred in the eyes of the Almohades; and Almamun was compelled to begin his meditated reforms by writing a treatise against the institutions of the legislator of Tinmal. To avert the threatened storm, that body immediately proclaimed *Yahia ben Anasir* prince of the faithful, and supplied him with troops to invade Andalusia, and to expel Almamun. Near the city of Sidonia, Almamun triumphed over his rival, and from that moment openly vowed the destruction of the senate at Morocco. But the hostilities of the Christians, who on one side had taken Elvas and ruined Badajoz, on another had seized on Loxa and Alhambra, were besieging Jaen and devastating Valencia, detained him some time longer in Spain. Having, at length, not recovered the lost towns, but forced the Christian A. H. 622.

princes to retire (satisfied, no doubt, with the result of the present campaign) he hastened to Morocco with such expedition and secrecy that he arrived there before the news of his departure from Andalusia. He instantly
A. H. 624. assembled the sheiks who formed the two councils, and, after upbraiding them for their disloyalty, ordered them to be beheaded in the court-yard of his palace. Similar orders were also sent into the provinces with regard to such walis as he knew were hostile to his government; and the number of heads which in a few days arrived in the capital were so great, that the inhabitants were terrified at the bare appearance of a negro or Andalusian of the royal guard,—the ministers by whom these orders were executed. The heads, we are told, were hung around the ramparts; nor would the tyrant remove them even when the stench arising from their putridity was almost intolerable. "Nothing is so sweet," he replied, "as the head of a dead enemy! It must be odoriferous to all who love me: it can stink in the nostrils of them only who hate me!" These bloody executions were followed by the abrogation of the laws of the mehedi, whose very name was expunged from the public prayers, and even from the coins and monuments.

625. But if Almamun thus triumphed in Africa, his affairs wore a different aspect in Spain, which was now to continue the prey of revolt until most of the territories still owning the Mohammedan power were subjugated by the Christians. In Andalusia there was a sheik, descended from the kings of Saragossa, Abu Abdalla Mohammed ben Hud by name, who formed the design of rescuing the country from the now feeble because divided grasp of the Almohades, and of founding for himself a new kingdom. Having assembled a considerable number of followers, whom his liberality, no less than hatred to the Almohades, attached to his cause, and who, in the rocky environs of Urxixa *, proclaimed him king of the Mussulmans in Spain, he actively commenced hostilities. His proclamations, in which he promised that

* A little town at the foot of the Alpujarras, a few leagues from the sea.

a moderate settled tribute should be substituted for the vexatious oppressions of the Africans, gained him many partisans. For some time, however, his success was retarded by Yahia ben Alnasir, who had been defeated by Almamun, and who claimed the allegiance of the Almohades. To add to the confusions already existing, Almamun himself arrived in Spain to support his tottering fortunes. Having purchased a truce from Fernando, he proceeded to combat the rebels. Over the wali of Baeza, an ally of the Christians, he easily triumphed; but in a battle near Tarifa, against the A. H. enterprising Aben Hud, he was signally defeated, 626. and compelled to flee into Africa. Yahia now sought the alliance of the victor, with the view of obtaining a division of Mohammedan Spain; but Aben Hud evaded the proposal, and, by rapidly reducing Murcia, Denia, Xativa, &c., showed that he aspired to an undivided sovereignty. Yahia now passed into Africa, raised another army, and being again defeated by Almamun, he returned to Spain, unwilling to renounce all his projects of empire. Aben Hud, however, had other competitors. One Jomail ben Zeyan, an Andalusian chief, rescued 627. Valencia from the Almohades, and proclaimed himself independent. But that independence was to be of short duration; for not only was the usurper threatened by Aben Hud, but by Fernando, who had united the crowns of Leon and Castile, and by king Jayme of Aragon, surnamed the Conqueror, who had long resolved on the subjugation of Valencia. The last named sovereign began 629. his career of victory by reducing the Balearic Isles, which he rescued from the yoke of the Almohades. The empire of these Africans in the Peninsula was now to end.* While king Jayme was threatening Valencia, Aben Hud was acknowledged by Granada, Merida, Seville, and soon after all Andalusia. These disasters hastened the death of Almamun, A. H. 629.†

* Nor did it long subsist in Africa. Adris, the last prince of this dynasty, fell A. H. 668, in a battle with the Marini, who triumphantly invaded his dominions. Abu Abdalla.

† The same authorities as before, with the addition of Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica (apud Casiri, ii. 60.).

But fate, as the Mohammedans assert, had not reserved an empire for Aben Hud. No sooner did intelligence arrive of Almamun's death, than Yahia aspired to the sovereignty; and though, as usual, this prince failed in his object,—the son of Almamun being elected in Mauritania, and he himself having received a mortal wound in an attack on Jaen,— Mohammed Abu Abdalla, his nephew, inherited his rights without his ill-fortune. This young prince aspired to the whole of Andalusia, and declared himself the mortal enemy of Aben Hud. The facility with which he reduced several important towns, Jaen among the number, procured him the favour of his soldiers, who proclaimed him king of that place. Thus Mohammedan Spain obeyed three sovereigns, Jomail ben Zeyan in Valencia, Mohammed in Jaen, and Aben Hud in Murcia, Granada, Cordova, Seville, &c. If Mohammed was the least powerful, he was destined to prove the most fortunate, as he was unquestionably the most able, of the three. In 630, Aben Hud was defeated on the banks of the Guadalete by one of king Fernando's generals. The following year he lost Loxa, Alhama, and the mountain range of Alpujarras, which became the prize of Mohammed; Alonge and Medellin, which were seized by the Portuguese; and Ubeda, which capitulated to Fernando. The year 632 was still more disastrous for him. The important city of Cordova, which in the eyes of the Mohammedans was sacred alike from its magnificent mosque, and from its having so long been the seat of their caliphs, fell into the power of the Castilian king. But the worst was yet to come. Being promised the supremacy over Valencia, if he could force the king of Aragon, who then invested it, to retire, he prepared to embark his troops at Almeria, in aid of Jomail. By the alcaid of that town, at whose table he had been entertained, and who was secretly attached to Mohammed, he was strangled in his bed (A. H. 634), and the report spread that he had died of apoplexy. Mohammed was immediately proclaimed in Almeria, and the following year (635) in Granada,

A. H. 634.

The same year, too, Valencia capitulated, and the dominions of Aben Hud were divided among the local walis, all about to become successively the prey of the Christians. Murcia, Alicante, Orihuela, Lorca, Alhama, Chinchilla, in the east, were each governed by independent walis; in the west, Seville obeyed the cid Abu Abdalla, son of Yacub Almansor; Carmona was subject to his nephew, Abul Hassan; Xeres, with the towns of Algarve not yet subdued by the Portuguese, had a governor, who vainly assumed the title of king.

In this deplorable situation of Mohammedan Spain, when the various states were threatened by the Christian princes, and when help from Africa could no longer be expected, the followers of the prophet cast their eyes on Aben Alhamar, who alone was able to secure them in their possessions; nay, who alone could prevent their expulsion from the Peninsula. After the surrender of Valencia, though king Jayme allowed perfect freedom of conscience, and a reasonable portion of liberty, to all who chose to remain, 50,000 Mussulmans bade adieu to the fertile plains of that province, and flocked to the cities which owned the sway of Mohammed. The latter fixed his court in Granada, resolved, if possible, to extend, or at the worst to preserve his new states against the independent walis on the one hand, and the Christians on the other. Our attention is now called to the only Mohammedan state which survived the wreck of the African empire; to one which, during more than two centuries and a half, withstood the hostile attacks of its Christian neighbours, and which fell only when all Christian Spain became united under one sceptre, and consequently irresistible.*

* Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica (apud Casiri, ii. 60.). Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta (apud eundem, ii. 223.), necnon Splendor Plenilunii (apud eundem, ii. 260, &c.). Rodericus Toletanus, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. viii. ix. (apud Schottum, Hisp. Illus. tom. ii.). Chronicon Lusitanum (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiv. 416, &c.). Annales Compostellani (apud eundem, xxiii. 324.). Chronicon de Cardeña, p 378, &c. (in eodem tomo). Anales Toledanos, i. (in eodem tomo, p. 339.). Anales Toledanos, ii. (p. 412. in eodem tomo.). Chronicon Cerratense (apud eundem, ii. 213.). Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii.). Diego Lopez de Cortegana, Cronica del Santo Rey Fernando Tercero de este nombre, qui ganó á Sevilla y toda el Andaluzia, p. 20—47.

CHAP. II.

KINGDOM OF GRANADA.

1238—1492.

A. H. 635. MOHAMMED BEN ALHAMAR, the founder of a celebrated kingdom, had qualities of a high order. Intrepid in war, yet averse to engage in it unless necessity demanded; vigorous in his internal administration, yet mild and conciliating; possessed of great foresight, and therefore seldom surprised by the ordinary chances of human affairs; prudent in his measures, comprehensive in his views, and magnificent in his habits; fond of power, but fonder still of popularity; he was excellently adapted to rule over a people like the Andalusians.

Scarcely had this prince taken possession of his new states, than he prepared for wars which he well saw were inevitable. He repaired the frontier fortresses of his little kingdom, which extended from Algeziras to beyond Almeria on the coast, and inwards as far as Jaen and Huescar; and, to be provided against the worst, he at the same time fortified his capital of Granada. By the constitution of Mohammedan governments, every male subject is a soldier, and every one is taught to regard the defence of the place he inhabits, not only as enjoined by patriotism, but as rendered imperative by religion. But Aben Alhamar, not content with this advantage, created a regular army, which he paid from his own revenues, and with which he filled his strong places. He had sagacity enough to know that the soldier maintained by the sovereign is more the servant of

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Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. i. (in reg. Don Jayme el Conquistador). D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Mamoun. Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 1—38.

In the wars of this period, the martial archbishop of Toledo sometimes took a prominent part. In A. D. 1232, he made a successful irruption into Andalusia, recovering several settlements which he himself had founded, from the hands of the infidels.

that sovereign than of the country. Besides this pay, each soldier was put in possession of land (chiefly on the frontiers, and therefore those frontiers were sure to be well defended) sufficient to support himself, his horse, and his family, with the more urgent necessaries of life. Hence every soldier was a patriot; for his individual interest was involved in that of the country. Patriotism cannot long exist with want, or even with a precarious subsistence.

The preparations of Aben Alhamar were amply justified by the sequel of events. The marriage of St. Fernando with a French princess had for a whole year suspended hostilities in that quarter; but now, when the marriage fêtes were concluded, that saintly monarch reappeared in armour. In A. H. 637, and the following year, his generals reduced Arjona and some other fortresses, while the king of Aragon seized on Villena and Xativa. But Fernando meditated a more important conquest. Well knowing the distracted state of Murcia, he sent his son Alfonso to reduce one by one the walis of that province. This expedition was attended with complete success, the wali of Lorca alone, Azis ben Abdelmelic, refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of Castile: the rest became the vassals of Fernando. Azis, however, soon afterwards lost his life in opposing Jomail, the deposed sovereign of Valencia, who longed to have at least a shadow of royalty, and who usurped the sovereignty of Lorca and Carthagena. The following year (641) the usurper was dispossessed of these places by the victorious Alfonso, and forced to retire into private life.

A. H. 637

639.

But these conquests, important as they were, were soon to be eclipsed by others. Aben Alhamar had ventured to oppose the irruptions of prince Alfonso into his states, and he was therefore marked out for the vengeance of the Castilians. The city of Jaen, the bulwark of the new kingdom, was invested by Fernando in person. While prosecuting the siege with a constancy which showed that he was resolute on bringing it to a

successful issue, detachments from his army reduced Illora and Alcala Real. The Moorish king now tried whether better fortune might not attend him in open campaign; but his signal defeat by the Castilian monarch (A. H. 643) taught him to respect the valour of his enemies. Still the place held out during the whole of the succeeding winter, when Fernando again joined the besieging army, and declared that he would not move from the walls until it owned his sway. Aben Alhamar perceived that its fall was inevitable, and he had but too much reason to dread that the catastrophe would be followed by the siege of his capital. He could not throw the least reinforcement into Jaen; he dared not again try the event of a battle, for he felt that to do this would be destruction. In this critical situation he adopted a resolution, extraordinary indeed, but conformable with the chivalry of his character. Without acquainting Fernando with his intention, he proceeded *alone* to the camp of that monarch, obtained an interview with him, announced his name, offered to become the vassal of the Castilian crown, and kissed the king's hand in token of homage.* Fernando was not to be outdone in generosity: he embraced Mohammed, whom he called his dear friend and ally, and whom he thanked for so signal a proof of confidence. The two kings soon agreed as to their immediate policy. Jaen was surrendered, an annual tribute was promised, with a certain number of horsemen whenever the king of Castile went to war: the king of Granada, too, like other feudatories, was to attend the cortes of the Christian kingdom. In return, Aben Alhamar was guaranteed in his remaining possessions, and treated with the highest distinction by his new friend. This proceeding of the Moorish king was as necessary as it was painful. Had

* The Christian writers do away with the chivalry of this proceeding, by making the king of Granada first send a Moor to the camp of Fernando, who promised whatever was required: they add, that, in faith of these promises, Mohammed hastened to do homage. This is the more probable, perhaps the true, relation; but we follow Condé, always supposing that Marlés has correctly interpreted him. Again we must lament that the original work of Condé is not in our hands.

he delayed it much longer, his infant state would have been over-run by the powerful Castilian, and he himself either driven into exile, or condemned to a private station.*

But if Aben Alhamar had thus succeeded in purchasing peace, it was a sacrifice much greater than that even of personal independence. The Mussulmans were his brethren; yet in his quality of vassal to king Fernando, he was compelled to draw the sword against them, and thereby to increase the power of the most formidable enemy of his faith. Not many months had elapsed after his treaty with the Christians, before he was summoned, according to its tenour, to march to the camp of Fernando with a body of 500 horse, to aid in the meditated conquest of Seville. He obeyed the summons; and on his reaching the camp of his liege lord, who was waiting for him, the campaign opened. After reducing several strong places, the important city of Carmona was invested. It was at first defended by its wali Abul Hassan, nephew of the cid Abu Abdalla, prince of the Almohades, who, as observed at the close of the last chapter, reigned at Seville. But Abul Hassan, perceiving that the ulterior object of Fernando was Seville itself, left the defence of Carmona to one of his lieutenants, and hastened to the assistance of his aged uncle. The inhabitants, who had agreed to surrender, if not relieved within six months, in consternation at the ruin of their fields, and the other increasing horrors of the war, at length constrained their alcade to send their submission to the Castilian king, who took

A. H. 643.

* Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica, necnon Abu Abdalla, Splendor Plenilunii (apud Casiri, Bibl. Arab.-Hispan. ii. 64. 264.). Rodericus Toletanus, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. ix. cap. 1—12. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii.) Annales Compostellani, p. 324. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxiii.). Chronicon de Cardeña, p. 378. (in eodem tomo) Anales Toledanos, ii. (in eodem tomo, p. 408, &c.). Anales Toledanos, iii. p. 412. (in eodem tomo). Diego Lopez, Cronica del Santo Rey Fernando III. passim. Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno Don Jayme el Conquistador). Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 38—56. This is the last time we have to quote the archbishop of Toledo, who died in A. H. 625, or A. D. 1247. His history of the events of his times is invaluable.

The epitaph of Rodrigo is rude, and somewhat quaint: —

"Mater Navarra, nutrix Castella, schola Parisiis,
Sedes Toletum, hortu mausoleum, requies cœlum."

possession of the place in A. H. 643.* All the fortresses on both banks of the Guadalquivir, from Jaen to the gates of Seville, had either already submitted to the Christians, or were now subdued by them. For these successes, Fernando was not a little indebted to his royal ally, who, seeing that resistance was useless, prevailed on the governors to surrender their places, and procured for them terms more favourable than they would otherwise have obtained. In short, while the Moorish king adhered with reluctant but honourable fidelity to his feudal superior, he omitted no opportunity of interceding for his brethren. The standard of Castile now floated on all the great cities of Andalusia, except Seville, the reduction of which was the next great enterprise of the victor.

A. H. 644 to 645. A. D. 1248. The Christian king had no sooner invested this great city than he perceived that so long as the mouth of the Guadalquivir was open to receive reinforcements from Africa, there was no hope of its reduction. Having caused a fleet to be constructed in the ports of Biscay, he placed it under the command of his admiral, Raymond Boniface, who conducted it towards the port of St. Lucar, at the mouth of that river. The Moorish fleet from Africa occupied the station: the Christian admiral triumphed over the Mohammedans, and advanced up towards Seville, which was now invested by sea and land. The consternation of the besieged was great; but, in the hope that on the approach of winter the Christians would retire, they persevered in their heroic resistance. But in this hope they were deceived; the besiegers had resolved to remain under their tents until the place capitulated. For some time, too, the city received supplies by land from its Mohammedan neighbours of the Algarves; but of this advantage it was at length deprived by the grand master of Santiago, who obtained a decisive victory over an advancing army of reinforcement, and

* There is considerable variation in the dates, and some even in the events, of this war, as given by Christians and Mohammedans. Now that Rodrigo has ceased to guide us, we place more dependence on the Arabian authorities of Condé than on Alonso el Sabio.

thenceforward prevented the possibility of supplies being thrown into the place. Finally, after the siege had continued fifteen months, when Fernando had reinforced his army from all parts of his dominions, when the suburbs Triana and Alfarache were occupied by his troops, and the besieged consequently cut off from all communication without their walls, and when that worst of enemies, famine, began to rage among them, they consented to capitulate. The conditions, which were signed November 23d, 1248, were alike honourable to them and to the victor. It was agreed that the inhabitants were at liberty either to leave the place or to remain in it: that if they chose the former, they should take whatever property they could carry away, and be furnished with the means of transport to Africa, or Granada, or wherever else they wished to reside; that, if they chose the latter, they should be subject to the same tribute as they had paid to their own princes. Abul Hassan, the brave defender of the place, was offered lands and riches if he would reside either in Seville, or any other city dependent on Castile. But the prince was too proud to owe any obligation to the Christians. he embarked accordingly for Africa, accompanied by some thousands of the inhabitants. If, as we are credibly informed, 300,000 Arabs and Moors left the city prior to its entrance by the conqueror, we may conclude that very few chose to remain under the Christian domination. One portion of the fugitives settled in the Algarves, and in the neighbouring towns, especially Xeres; but the greater number, unwilling like them to forsake the fertile plains of the Peninsula, hastened to abide with their brethren in the new kingdom of Granada. In the month of December, Fernando made a magnificent entry into this ancient and important city. He was escorted to the grand mosque, which the Christian prelates in his suite immediately purified, and which the successor of Rodrigo in the see of Toledo converted to a purer worship by the celebration of a pontifical high mass.

During this memorable siege, don Jayme of Aragon was no less eager than his brother of Castile to extend his conquests. He finished the subjugation of the kingdom of Valencia by the reduction of Xativa, which had revolted, and some other fortresses. Whether weary of his domination, which, however, does not appear to have been galling, or from hatred to Christianity, or from a wish to support, by their valour, the new kingdom of the south, most of the Mohammedans of Valencia bade an everlasting adieu to the delicious plains of that province, and, like their brethren of Seville, sought the hospitality of Aben Alhamar. In about two years afterwards, the remaining portion were expelled, after a troublesome but fruitless resistance, by the bigoted conqueror. Of these, many sought refuge in Murcia, under the less intolerant sway of the Castilians; but most joined their brethren of Granada. The Moorish king, who was well acquainted with the fact, that the more numerous and contented the population, the safer the state, ordered them to be well received in whatever part of his dominion they chose to settle, and to be exempted from taxes for several years to come.*

On the capitulation of Seville, Aben Alhamar took leave of his liege lord, and returned to Granada; his heart filled with sorrow at the unfortunate situation of Mohammedan Spain, especially when he considered that he himself had been an instrument, however unwilling, to bring about the catastrophe. Nor were his spirits much raised when he reflected on the increased strength of the Christian princes, their boundless ambition, and the certainty that they would not rest long satisfied with their present advantages. As he alone remained of all the Moslem power, so he alone would

* Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica, passim. Abu Abdalla, Splendor Plenilunii (apud Casiri, ii. 260—265.). Diego Lopez, Cronica del Santo Rey Don Fernando Tercero, passim. Anales Toledanos, ii. p. 400. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxiii.). Anales Toledanos, iii. (in eodem tomo, p. 412.). Chronicon Cerratense (apud eundem, ii. 213.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. i. cap. 44.; with a multitude of other Christian writers. Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 56—65.

be exposed to the hostility of the enemy. But in the worst conditions man is seldom deserted by hope. It was not to be expected that Castile would always have princes so vigilant and able as Fernando; under the successors of that monarch the integrity of Granada might be preserved, — perhaps her territories extended. But the Moorish king was too wise a man to place his chief dependence on the future. Knowing that the best — indeed the only — foundation of thrones is the prosperity of the people, he applied himself, with extraordinary zeal, to the promotion of that object. Hospitals for the sick; houses of entertainment for travellers, and of refuge for the poor; schools for children, and colleges for youth; aqueducts for supplying the towns with the most necessary of the elements, and canals for fertilising the ground; baths, fountains, warehouses where the produce of his own and other climes could be safely deposited, and markets where that produce could be distributed to the people at a fixed reasonable price; the encouragement given to agriculture, commerce, and the useful arts of life; a mild firmness in the administration; an invariable adherence to justice in all disputes between his subjects; a readiness on all occasions to hear and to redress complaints; frequent audiences, to which the high and low, rich and poor, Mussulman and Christian, were indiscriminately admitted, and from which few, if any, had ever reason to depart dissatisfied; — such were some of the blessings which this able prince bestowed on his country. Nor was he less attentive to the defence than to the prosperity of his people. Besides the organisation and improved discipline of the army, the kingdom was indebted to him for the erection of numerous fortresses both on the frontiers and in the interior. It is true that, in aid of these extensive improvements, the imposition of new burdens on the people was inevitable; but they were borne without murmuring, since every one saw that the king was liberal of the national resources, not for his own sake, but for the good of the community.

A. H. 650. So long as Fernando lived, a good understanding subsisted between him and Aben Alhamar. Though the former subdued most of the towns between Seville and the Algarves,— though he even equipped a fleet to make war on the sovereign of Morocco, and obtained a signal triumph over the Moorish ships,— he did not attempt to disturb his vassal in the new kingdom. But some time after the accession of Alfonso el Sabio, in A. H. 650 (A. D. 1252), this good understanding gave way to open hostility. This change in the relations of the two kings was thus occasioned:—On the accession of Alfonso, the Mohammedans of that portion of Algarve belonging to Castile openly revolted. To crush this incipient commotion, he summoned his vassals, and, among others, the king of Granada, who obeyed the summons. Xeres, Arcos, Sidonia, Lebrija, &c. were successively reduced to obedience, chiefly through the gallantry of prince Enrique, brother of Alfonso. But that prince having, for some cause not very well known*, incurred the displeasure of the king, endeavoured to fortify himself by alliance,— perhaps even to usurp that brother's dignity. He prevailed on the discontented wali of Niebla to revolt, seized on Arcos and Lebrija, until, being defeated by a Castilian general who had orders to secure his person, he found it high time to procure some place of refuge from his brother's vengeance. He applied to the king of Aragon, but in vain. Aben Alhamar, to whom his next application was addressed, advised him not to remain in any city of Spain, but pass over to Africa, where he would meet with a reception due to his rank. Don Enrique followed the advice; being furnished with the powerful recommendations of the Moorish king, he proceeded to Tunis, where he remained many years. His departure left the wali of Niebla exposed to the fury of Alfonso. That city was immediately invested;

* An amour, in which the two brothers were rivals, is generally assigned as the cause.

and though its defence * was long and vigorous, in the end both it and the other towns which had rebelled were compelled to capitulate. This country was the last refuge of the Almohades, who struggled hard to preserve something like a shadow of government. But though subdued, they still cherished the hope of independence; not from any efforts they could make, but from the aid of Mohammed Alhamar. Hearing that the Moorish king was on a tour of inspection over his chief fortresses, they deputed to him a few of their chiefs, who offered to proclaim him their ruler if he would aid them to break their chains. At the same time Murcia was persuaded to send a similar deputation. As he did not wish to decide in an affair of such moment without the advice of his council, he returned to his capital, and laid the subject before them. All voted for war with Castile; both because it was their duty to assist their suffering brethren, and their interest to unite in humbling the power of Alfonso. But Mohammed was, at first, averse to an open war: he promised, however, that, if a simultaneous rising took place, so far from aiding the Christians, he would take part with his brethren. This was enough for the deputies: on the same day, and at the same hour, the people rose (A. H. 659) at Murcia, Lorca, Mula, Xeres, Lebrija, Arcos, &c., assailed and massacred the Christians, and proclaimed Aben Alhamar. The walis of Tarifa and Algeziras, two of his subjects, marched to assist the rebels. Alfonso, however, speedily raised troops to crush the rebellion; and, as usual, demanded the stipulated contingent from the king of Granada. The latter replied, that, so far from suffering him to march against his co-religionists, his people would sarcely permit him to remain neuter in the impending contest. The Castilian, who saw through the policy of his vassal, ordered his generals to treat the

A. H. 655. 659.

* If the Mohammedan accounts are correct, *artillery* was used in defence of Niebla. The invention of gunpowder may probably be referred to a much more ancient period than the one assigned. It is much to be wished that more light were thrown on this dark but interesting subject.

people of Granada as enemies; while Aben Alhamar himself threw off the mask, and made an irruption into the territories of Castile.*

A. H. 660. However combined the plan of the Mohammedans, they were not likely to prevail over their more powerful neighbours. In A. H. 660, the kings of Castile and Granada met near Alcala Real, when the latter was signally defeated. At the same time a powerful diversion was made on the side of Murcia by the king of Aragon, who was persuaded to undertake the re-subjugation of that province for the husband of his daughter.† And after the victory over Mohammed, the army of Alfonso proceeded to chastise the insurgents of Algarve. In all these places success shone on the banners of the Christians. The revolt of three of his most powerful walis prevented Mohammed from succouring either the Murcians or the rebels of the West.

663. Not only were the latter, after a few months' siege, compelled to surrender the towns they defended, but they were for ever expelled the country, and forced to seek new habitations amidst the mountains of Granada. (Though a portion of this country was thus re-conquered by Alfonso, the Portuguese laid claim to it; and the whole of Algarve was soon afterwards ceded to that people, on condition of their furnishing him with fifty men-at-arms whenever he went to war, and of their recognising his right to another disputed territory, — that extending from Alconcer to Aracene, between the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir.) In the east, the king of Aragon triumphed with equal glory. He subdued the whole of Murcia, of which Alfonso marched to take possession. In consternation at these disasters,

* Authorities, — the fragments of Casiri, the Chronicles of San Fernando and Alfonso el Sabio, the Annals of Zurita, and Condé by Marlés. Marlés is not to be followed in the *Christian* portion of his history: he favours the infidels at the expense of the Spaniards, and is sometimes either dishonest or culpably careless.

† Unlike the Christians, the Arabian writers will not allow don Jayme to have been very disinterested in supporting his son-in-law Alfonso. They contend that he wished to keep Murcia for himself. The alliance of Emanuel, for whom the fief was intended, with another daughter of don Jayme, restored the harmony of the two crowns.

Aben Alhamar sued for peace, which the Castilian king readily granted, on conditions even more favourable than the former had a right to expect. Instead of troops he was allowed to pay an annual tribute to his liege lord; and he was not bound to appear at any assembly of the cortes, unless that assembly were held in a city of Andalusia. Murcia was thenceforward to be governed by a Mahommedan prince, nominated by the sovereign of Castile; and the walis, who had thrown off their allegiance to Mohammed, were to be urged to return to their duty by Alfonso; in the same manner the king of Granada engaged to persuade the Murcians to become submissive subjects. The lenity of these conditions, which were signed by the kings in A.H. 664 (A.D. 1266), can only be explained by the apprehension felt by the victor lest Mohammed should again introduce the Africans into Spain. In fact, such an apprehension was reasonable; for the latter had already solicited and even obtained the promise of troops from the king of Morocco.

But this peace was short in its duration. Alfonso found so obvious an interest in fomenting the continued rebellion of the walis, that he persuaded them still to hold out, and even required not only that Mohammed should not reduce them by force, but that he should recognise them as independent governors. The indignation of the Moorish king was unbounded, and he resolved to employ the greater rigour against the daring rebels. Accident favoured his design. The vain ambition of Alfonso, who aspired to the imperial crown of Germany, and who, for that unattainable object, had lavished immense sums, had greatly disgusted his people. Taking advantage of this general sentiment, a few factious nobles, at the head of whom was don Felipe, the king's brother, revolted against him, and, under the pretext of the public good, each aspired to his own individual interests. In their guilty ambition they did not scruple to apply to Moorish as well as Christian princes, to Aben Yussef of Morocco, and Aben Alhamar A.H. 665.

of Granada, as well as to the king of Navarre, to bring the scourge of invasion on their country, and of profiting by the general disorder. These rebels having been summoned to lay down their arms by an assembly of the states at Burgos, under penalty of being severely punished, preferred exile to obedience, and sought refuge with the king of Granada. They even aided him in the attempt to reduce the revolted walis, who still defied the power of Aben Alhamar. By a strange inconsistency in the human character, these rebels were the advocates of legitimate order, and at the same time assisted in punishing men for the very crime they themselves committed. But whatever advantage Mohammed might gain over the united walis, he could not reduce them by his regular army, and he was unwilling to employ new levies in this social war,—of opposing brethren to brethren, and bringing odium on his administration. He again applied for aid to Aben Yussef, who promised soon to land in Andalusia, to assist him in extirpating his domestic foes, —a promise, however, which was not fulfilled. Thus there was a prospect of another African invasion,—one which might have proved as fatal to Mohammed and the Christians as that of the Almoravides. The intelligence of this threatened calamity was brought to Spain by the infante don Enrique, who, tired of his situation at the court of Tunis, and not without just suspicion that his life was in danger*, returned to his brother. He severely censured the policy of Alfonso, who, by protecting the rebellious walis, was the indirect cause of this alliance between the two Mohammedan kings. Alarmed at his situation, the Christian monarch empowered his brother to negotiate, not only with his exiled subjects, whom he now wished to return, but with Aben Alhamar, his faithless vassal. Accordingly negotiations commenced: the insurgent walis, aware of the fact, resolved to strike

* Two lions were one day let loose on him, no doubt purposely, as he walked in the court-yard of his host; but he drew his sword, and neither dared to spring on him. He naturally wished to escape from such hospitality.

a final blow before either their conclusion, or the arrival of the Africans.

In A. H. 671, the three walis, at the head of a considerable army, entered the plains of Granada. Incensed at this insulting audacity, Mohammed ordered his troops to assemble, and, placing himself at their head, issued from the gates. It was observed, however, that the foremost horseman, in passing under the archway, neglected to lower his lance, which was shivered in his hands; and the accident was considered ominous. The evening of that day the king was seized by a sickness so severe, that he was laid on a litter and conveyed back towards the capital. But that capital he was to see no more. So rapidly did the violence of his disorder increase, that a pavilion was erected for him on the plain, where in a few hours he expired. Don Felipe and the Castilian nobles surrounded his dying couch, and showed him proofs of sincere regard.* A.H. 671.

Mohammed II. followed successfully in the steps of his able father. On his accession he made no change in the ministry: he had no creatures of his own to provide for by displacing the faithful servants of the late reign. His conduct in this respect procured him the esteem of the nation, — of all but a few ambitious and fastidious men, who from disappointment first murmured, and next joined the rebels of Malaga. 671

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, Splendor Plenilunii (apud Casiri, ii. 260—265.). Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 80 — 96. Cronica de Cardeña, p. 379. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxiii.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno Don Jayme el Conquistador.).

The epitaph of Mohammed, as given by Abu Abdalla (Casiri's translation), may amuse the learned reader:—

Hic jacet magnus et excelsus rex Mahometanorum, gloria hominum, pulchritudo noctium, dierumque decus, suæ gentis auxilium, ros misericordiæ, dominus et princeps populi, legis lux atque defensor, veritatis gladius, hominum rector, leo belli, hostium excidium rerum, columen, confinium propugnator, exercituum debellator, tyrannorum et infidelium domitor, fidelium imperator, dux populi, delecti et pii fidei tutamen et regum honos: qui bella Dei gessit, ejusque ope hostes vicit, Abu Abdalla, viz. Muhammed ben Yussef ben Nasser Alansaracus, quem Deus in summo honorum gradu inter prophetas justos, martyres sanctosque collocet! Hic in lucem editus, felicem Deo annuente, sortem nactus est A. H. 591, obiit vero feriâ 6 horis pomeridianis die 29 Gemadi posterioris, anno 671. Laus Deo, cujus imperium perpetuum, regnumque æternum, ævum percunne. Non est Deus præter Deum misericordem simulque pium.

To reduce these daring outlaws,—for such they literally were,—who had occasioned so much trouble to his father, was the first object of the new king. But though, with the aid of his Christian friends, don Felipe and the other nobles who had fled from the presence of Alfonso, he utterly defeated them near Antequera, they had only to throw themselves within the impregnable fortifications of Malaga, and set him at defiance.

A.H. 672. After this victory, don Felipe being urgently invited to return to his brother's court, and even to use his influence with the king of Granada for securing the blessings of peace to both states, Mohammed not only consented to renew the alliance, but even resolved to accompany his friends to the presence of Alfonso. His reception by the Christian monarch, by whose hand he was even knighted, was highly distinguished. As his manners were graceful, his study to please assiduous, and his knowledge of the Castilian language considerable, he became a favourite in Seville. But he was soon dissatisfied with his situation. One day when he visited the queen, who took great pleasure in his conversation, she artfully observed that she had a favour to beg from him, and he as courteously replied it should be granted. He had no suspicion that a lady would think of politics on a visit of ceremony; and his surprise could only be equalled by his mortification, when he learned that she wished him to agree on a new truce with the revolted walis. But his word was given, and he could not retract it. He soon afterwards returned to Granada, now fully convinced that the rebellion was continued wholly by the acts of Alfonso. However, he waited patiently until the expiration of the term agreed on; and, as the rebels showed no intention of submitting, he again applied to Aben Yussef, of Morocco, promising to put that prince in possession of Algeziras and Tarifa, on the condition that the aid solicited were prompt and considerable.

673. So long as Aben Yussef was solicited to arm only in defence of islamism, he showed little readiness to fulfil

his promise; but the moment his imprudent ally offered to place in his hands the keys of Andalusia, he despatched 17,000 Africans to occupy the two fortresses; and early in A. H. 674 he himself landed with another army. The terrified walis now lost no time in submitting to their lawful sovereign, who was easily induced to forgive the past. But the preparations of the two allies were not to be lost; it was accordingly determined that both should attack the Christians; that while Aben Yussef laid siege to Ecija and Seville, Mohammed should march on Cordova.* Though the governor of Ecija, Nunez de Lara, had not one third the number of soldiers of Aben Yussef, he accepted the challenge of the African. The Christians fought with desperate valour, but in the end they fell, Nuno himself being left dead on the field. The head was sent by the victor to the king of Granada, who could not refrain from tears on beholding it; for Nuno had long resided with don Felipe at the court of Granada. "Unfortunate friend!" sorrowfully exclaimed the king, "thou wast deserving a better fate!" With a feeling honourable to his heart, he caused the head to be embalmed, to be enclosed in a silver box, and conveyed to the relatives of the deceased. This success, however, brought no advantage to the allies. Though Yussef invested Ecija, he was soon forced by the inhabitants to raise the siege. He next ravaged the country as far as the gates of Cordova, while Mohammed defeated the infante don Sancho, archbishop of Toledo, who rashly led a handful of men against the invaders. The infante was taken prisoner; he was claimed by the Africans who served in the army of Mohammed; the troops of Granada refused to relinquish their prize; a quarrel arose which would have ended in a battle, had not a Moorish horseman ridden between the contending parties, and thrust his lance through the heart of Sancho, exclaiming at the same

* We must again observe, that in the wars of this period the Christian historians differ — on some occasions widely — from the authorities of Condé.

time, "Allah forbid that so many brave men should cut one another's throats for the sake of a dog!" To end the dispute, the Africans took the head, the Andalusians the right hand of the prince. The day following, when don Lope Diaz advanced to effect a junction with the infante, and perceived the cross in the hands of the infidels, he furiously assailed the Moors. The combat continued until night fall; and though victory declared for neither, the loss was more severe on the part of the invaders, who retired from the field. At this critical moment the Christians were disconcerted by the death of the infante don Fernando, whom Alfonso had left regent of the kingdom during his absence in the fruitless quest of the imperial crown. But don Sancho
A.H. 675. brother of the deceased regent, and second son of Alfonso, placed himself at the head of the levies which had been raised, and advanced against the king of Morocco, whom he forced to retreat. To prevent that prince from receiving any supplies from Africa, he caused a fleet to ride in the channel, and he thereby cut off all communication between the Andalusians and that continent. In consternation at this vigorous blow, Aben Yussef, who had retired to Algeziras, sued for peace, which Sancho readily granted, in the view of turning the whole of his forces against Mohammed. At the same time a powerful diversion was made in his favour by the king of Aragon. Mohammed was now in a critical position. Deserted by his ally, to whom he had surrendered two important towns; menaced by the united forces of Aragon and Castile; and again distracted by the revolt of the walis of Malaga and Guadix, who renewed their alliance with don Sancho, he also sued for peace. After some difficulty he obtained it;
676. but for his success in this respect he was indebted to the policy of Sancho, who, in aspiring to the succession, and consequently to the exclusion of his elder brother's children, wished to have no foreign enemies to combat.*

The short interval of tranquillity which followed per-

* The same authorities as before.

mitted Mohammed to carry on his great design of embellishing his capital. The palace of the Alhambra, which his father commenced, and which by the labour of succeeding kings was destined to become the wonder of Spain, he greatly augmented and improved.* His encouragement, too, of literature and the arts, the reception which he afforded to the learned of every country, his magnificent taste and profuse liberality, rendered Granada the favourite abode of science and the muses, the most cultivated city not of Spain only, but of Europe.†

But from these peaceful and enlightened pursuits, Mohammed was soon summoned to the bustling and scarcely less congenial ones of war. Alfonso, having been induced by pope Nicholas to recommence hostilities with the Moslems, laid siege to Algeziras. His ill success before that place, owing chiefly to an epidemic disorder which raged among his troops, and compelled him to raise the siege, and partly to the destruction of his fleet by the king of Morocco, encouraged Mohammed to invade the country round Cordova. Having obtained 678.
a truce from Aben Yussef, Alfonso prepared to fall on this new enemy; but a complaint in his eyes arrested his advance at Alcala Real, and the command was devolved on don Sancho. During the campaign of 679, the advantage rested with the Moorish king, owing chiefly to his superior dexterity; but in the following year, the prince, at the head of 50,000 men, forced the Moslems to retire, and encamped within sight of Granada. No intention, indeed, existed of making an assault on the formidable ramparts of that city; but to brave the enemy in their strongest hold was no mean triumph to the Christians. This, however, was the only advantage

* As the description of Granada, especially of the fairy palace of the Alhambra, with its baths, fountains, gardens, &c. would require a whole chapter, and is, besides, to be found in works of easy access, it cannot be given here. The narrow limits assigned us for the history of Mohammedan Spain hurries us towards a conclusion. We regret this the less, as an author whose pen he must be daring, indeed, who would presume to rival (Dr. Southey), is now occupied with this interesting subject, for the Cabinet Cyclopædia.

† The last chapter of the present book will, among other matters, treat on the Mohammedan literature, &c. of Spain.

derived from this display of force. Through either the application for peace by Mohammed, or the ambition of Sancho, who was bent on securing the succession to the Christian throne, the infant withdrew the army from the territories of Granada, and returned to Cordova. The cortes of Valladolid had just declared Alfonso deprived of the regal dignity in favour of Sancho; and the great towns of the kingdom, with the exception of Seville and of Badajoz, where Alfonso then was, recognised the new sovereign. Of the Christian princes to whom the unfortunate father applied for aid against an undutiful son, none showed
681. much disposition to satisfy him. Not so the king of Morocco, who was then at Algeziras, and who readily armed in behalf of an injured however weak parent. On the other hand, Mohammed espoused the interests of Sancho; so that in this war, Moor was to be banded against Moor, and Christian against Christian. But the war turned to the advantage of the rebellious son, first, because Aben Yussef refused to fight against the Moors; and, secondly, because the followers of Alfonso began to suspect, — perhaps they had ground for the suspicion, — that the African himself aimed at the possession of Andalusia. However this be, they forsook their Moorish ally, and returned to their king, whose distrust and indignation they fomented. The Christian wrote a reproachful letter to Aben Yussef, who, whether from the pride of offended innocence, or from a consciousness of guilt, retired to Algeziras, leaving the aged king to struggle alone against the unnatural coalition. But what temporal arms could not effect was obtained by the threatened thunders of the church. Pope Martin V. menaced Sancho and his partisans with excommunication, and the whole realm with an interdict, in case he persevered in his rebellion. The terrified Sancho, deserted by most of his supporters, now endeavoured to obtain his father's forgiveness. At this time (A. H. 683) Alfonso died, and don Sancho became king.

684 to 693. The subsequent proceedings of Aben Yussef seem to confirm the suspicions of Alfonso. Finding that he

could obtain no increase of territory from the Christians, either by open force or secret plotting, he turned his political roguery against Mohammed. He prevailed on the revolted walis to acknowledge *him* as the lawful sovereign of their governments; and ere long he obtained an entire cession of Malaga, the chief place of the rebels. He did not, however, long enjoy his usurpation; but his son, Abu Yacub, visited that important city to receive the homage of the inhabitants. Mohammed was no little concerned at its loss: he despaired of recovering it by force; but some years afterwards (A. H. 690) he corrupted the governor, and, by secretly introducing his troops, gained possession of it. Knowing that Abu Yacub would thirst for revenge, he concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with don Sancho. The king of Morocco fitted out a powerful armament, which was intercepted and almost annihilated by the fleet of Sancho, who next reduced Tarifa. Soon afterwards, Mohammed, who was induced by the infante don Juan to seek a pretext for war with the Castilian king, demanded this fortress, on the ground that it had been occupied by Aben Yussef; and on the indignant refusal of the other, war accordingly recommenced. It afforded as little advantage as honour to Mohammed, whose fortresses of Quesada, Alcaudete, &c. were rapidly reduced by Sancho; nor would the successes of the Castilian have stopped here, had not death arrested him in his career.

The remaining portion of Mohammed's reign offers little to occupy our notice. In A. H. 695, availing himself of the troubles consequent on the death of Sancho, — and it was only during such troubles that the Moslems could contend with their more powerful neighbours,—he recovered the two last conquests of Sancho, and soon afterwards Algeziras, from the king of Morocco. He died the eighth day of the moon Shafan, A. H. 701.* A. H. 694 to 701.

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, seu Regum Marinorum Series (apud Casiri, ii. 233—236.); necnon Splendor Plenilunii (apud eundem, ii. 268—271.). Anales Toledanos, iii. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxiii. p. 418.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon, (in regnis Don Pedro, Don Alonso III. et Don Jayme II., tom. i.). Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 112—142.

Mohammed III., Abu Abdalla, had many of the talents, without the good fortune, of his father. In his reign began the intestine disorders, which ended not until the sceptre of Granada was transferred from the dynasty of the Beni Nassir to the sovereigns of Aragon and Castile.

A. H. 701 to 708. From the commencement of his reign, Mohammed was distinguished for an application to public business which would have done honour to any sovereign, and was wonderful in a Mussulman. Not only the whole of the day, but a considerable portion of the night, was devoted to the duties of his new station, until both his own health and that of his ministers were broken by the intensity of the labour. But this zeal for the good of his people procured him neither their gratitude nor their respect. Their chief characteristic was inconstancy: the laxity of the royal sway—a laxity proceeding from the mild disposition of the present and preceding prince—emboldened them in their silence. Abul Hegiag, the wali of Guadix, refused to do homage: the king blockaded the place, but without effect. The revolt of Almeria, occasioned by the intrigues of the king of Aragon, next distracted his attention. These disasters were for a moment balanced by the conquest of Ceuta, effected by his brother; but in the sequel the new conquest, with the fortress of Gibraltar, fell into the power of the Christians. Algeziras, too, would have submitted to the king of Castile,—now Fernando IV.,—had not the forbearance of that prince been purchased by the restoration of Quesada, Quadros, and Bedmar, and by 5000 pistoles in gold. He was preparing to purchase in a similar manner the retreat of don Jayme of Aragon, who had closely invested Almeria, and who defeated his army, when he was recalled to his capital by a misfortune still heavier—a conspiracy to dethrone him.

709. Mohammed hoped that his return to Granada would overawe the factious: it only made them openly break out. The populace, many of whom were gained by the money of the chief conspirators, surrounded his palace,

exclaiming, "Long live Nassir Abul Geiox!"— the name of his brother. At the same time, another division of the mob proceeded to the house of his hagib, Abu Abdalla, which, as may be naturally expected, they plundered of every thing valuable, except the library: this they committed to the flames. The minister, however, was not here, but in the king's palace. To the palace the wretches accordingly repaired; and as no adequate force was brought to restrain them, they massacred the sentinels, penetrated into the royal apartments, and cut the virtuous hagib in pieces before the eyes of the king. They next plundered the royal residence; and at length concluded by ordering the mild, weak monarch to resign his throne. Mohammed obeyed. Having made a solemn act of renunciation, he retired to Almuñecar, his appointed residence; and his brother was declared king.

But NASSIR soon found that the same acts which had occasioned his elevation might annoy, and ultimately hurl him from his guilty eminence. The commencement of his reign, indeed, seemed propitious. The siege of Almeria was raised; not so much, however, through the valour of the Mohammedans, as through the disturbances which demanded the king of Aragon's presence in Catalonia. But this fallacious calm was succeeded by the tempest of civil strife. Ismail ben Ferag, surnamed Abul Walid, a prince of the same family, had long aspired to the crown. As he could have no other hope of attaining his object than through the favour of the mob, which is every where inclined to revolt, and characteristically so in Mohammedan countries, he had endeavoured to acquire popularity partly by his winning manners, and partly by the wealth which he profusely distributed. He who is so base as to flatter, or so unprincipled as to seduce, the multitude, will seldom fail in his object; but, before Ismail could avail himself of his criminal advantage, his acts had been detected. The merciful Mohammed, however, had only exiled him from Granada. The successful usurpation of Nassir drew him

A. H. 709 to 713.

secretly to the capital, where his intrigues among such as had any influence over the mob soon placed him at the head of a numerous party. Many, too, joined him, not so much from attachment to him, as from hatred to Nassir. But his plots were again discovered, and an order issued for his arrest. It was issued too late: he had received notice of his danger, and had fled to Malaga, where he set the usurper's power at defiance. Another incident increased the mortification of Nassir: being suddenly seized by apoplexy, and believed to be dead, the mob shouted for the restoration of Mohammed; and the friends of that prince — such were all who loved order — forced him from his retreat, and brought him to Granada. On reaching the city, however, they were surprised to find the same mob rejoicing at the unexpected restoration of Nassir. Mohammed was glad to seek his former retreat, where he soon ended his days. The usurper had reason to reflect on the precarious position he occupied. In A. H. 711, the king of Castile, whose previous inactivity arose from internal dissensions, invaded the usurper's dominions, and took several fortresses; and though the sudden and mysterious death of Fernando* rid him of a foreign enemy, he had little reason to exult in his security. The son of Ferag marched against him, defeated him, and compelled him to cede Malaga in full sovereignty to successful rebellion. This dismemberment of the kingdom brought Nassir into contempt with his people. The arbitrary and capricious conduct of his hagib increased the public discontent to such a degree, that the party of Ismail became more and more formidable by the defection of the citizens. In 713, the mob, at the instigation of Ismail's agents, openly revolted; forced Nassir to dismiss his minister; and would have proceeded to greater extremities, had he not artfully addressed them, and persuaded them for a time to resume their obedience. But in attempting to eradicate, by numerous exertions, the seeds of the disaffection,

A. H. 710.

* See the reign of Fernando IV. in the next section.

he hastened his downfall. Thousands resorted to Ismail, who had just been admitted into Loxa, and who now boldly advanced on the capital: Mohammed had ceased to exist. Nassir was easily defeated; was pursued into the city, the gates of which were opened to the victor by the inhabitants; was besieged in the alcazar, and compelled to resign the throne to Ismail. To the credit of Nassir, it must be recorded that he retired without murmuring to private life; and that though, during the commotions which followed, he was frequently urged by his friends to struggle again for the supreme power, he resolutely refused to do so.*

Ismail ben Ferag was a rigorous observer of the external practices enjoined by the Koran, a brave soldier, and undaunted in reverses. He had soon to defend his frontiers against the two regents of Castile, the princes Pedro and Juan. In spite, however, of his efforts, several fortresses south of the Guadalquivir fell into the hands of the Christians; and the disaster would have been greater, but for the jealousy entertained by don Juan towards his brother, whose bravery was the theme of much admiration. The Moorish king failed in an attempt to surprise Gibraltar. It seems, indeed, as if the Moors had for a time forgotten their ancient valour, or that they considered all resistance useless. Ismail summoned before him the governors of the frontiers and the chiefs of his army; severally reprehended them for their criminal despondency; proclaimed the Algihed, or holy war; and having by these means raised a numerous force, advanced towards the invaders, who were laying waste the very heart of his kingdom, and appeared within sight of his capital. This time fortune befriended him. In A. H. 719, he

A.H. 713 to 724.

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta (Regum Marinorum Series), p. 235. Granatensis Encyclica seu Bibliotheca Arab. Hisp. passim, necnon Splendor Plenilunii, pp. 272—281. (apud Casiri, tom. ii.). Condé by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 142—162. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, passim. Also the Chronicon Dni. Joannis Emmanuelis (apud Florez, España Sagrada, ii. 215.), the Chronicon Conimbricense, the Chronicon de Cardeña, and the Anales Toledanos, iii. (apud eundem, tom. xxiii.).

obtained a most signal victory over the enemy, leaving the two infantes dead on the field. A truce of four years followed; but as it was confined to the frontiers of Jaen and Cordova, it did not prevent the Moorish king from obtaining some successes on the side of Murcia. These successes, too trifling to be particularised, were entirely owing to the internal dissensions of Castile, after the death of the two regents. On the expiration of the truce (A. H. 724), Ismail again menaced the southern frontier of his enemy. Both Baza and Martos, which he reduced, experienced the sternness of his character: in both he caused torrents of blood to flow; doubtless because he was exasperated at the bravery with which both, though thinly garrisoned, had withstood his assaults. He little foresaw that these triumphs were to prove his ruin.

Among the captives made at Martos there was a Christian maiden of surpassing beauty. The Mussulmans who first seized her disputed who should possess her, and, to end the quarrel some were preparing to cut her in pieces; when Mohammed, a prince of the royal house of Granada, flew to her rescue. He became instantly and deeply smitten with the fair Christian; but, unfortunately for him, the king, on seeing her, was not less so. Power prevailed; the maiden, in opposition to the prayers and remonstrances of Mohammed, was immediately consigned to the royal harem. Rage the most unbounded now took possession of Mohammed's soul. Having assembled his friends, who joined in his desire of vengeance, the death of the king was resolved. The following day they took their station at the entrance of the Alhambra, telling the eunuchs of the guard that they were waiting to speak with the king as he left the palace. Ismail soon appeared, attended only by one of his wasirs: Mohammed instantly approached as if to salute him, and, with a poniard, gave him three mortal wounds. The wasir fell at the same moment under the weapons of the other conspirators, all of whom fled on the accomplishment of their atrocious purpose. The sound drew the domes-

tics of the palace, who carried the unfortunate victim to his inner apartment, where he soon breathed his last. The mournful intelligence of the assassination flew through the city, and spread general gloom; for Ismail died in the arms of victory, before the short-lived gratitude of the populace had time to cool. The royal guard indulged in tremendous imprecations against the assassins; but, though several were put to death, the greater number escaped. Othman, the captain of the guard, was one of the conspirators. To conceal the knowledge of his guilt, he was one of the first to proclaim the son of Ismail, Mohammed, as king of the faithful.*

MOHAMMED IV. was remarkable for mild gravity, for a magnificent taste, for his fondness of chivalric exercises, and for a sound judgment. It appears, however, that he was not very much addicted to public affairs; for he abandoned the cares of government to an ambitious, tyrannical minister, who insulted the great, and oppressed the people. This hagib was even powerful enough to procure the imprisonment of one brother of his master, and the exile of another; and, by his haughtiness of manner, he so disgusted Othman, commander of the troops, that the latter raised the standard of revolt in Andalusia; proclaimed Mohammed ben Ferag, uncle of the reigning king; and by his emissaries prevailed on the Christians to invade the kingdom. Indignant at these disasters, the Moorish sovereign arrested and eventually beheaded his hagib; but it was too late to remedy them. The Castilians seized on Vera, Olbera, Pruna, and Ayamonte, defeated Mohammed in person, who vainly endeavoured to arrest their progress, or to crush the revolt of Othman. A still worse disaster was the arrival of a considerable African force in aid of Othman, who belonged to the royal family of Fez. They defeated the general of Mohammed, took Algeziras, Marbella, and Ronda, and effected a junction with the chief of the rebels.

A. H. 725 to 733.

726.

727.

* The same authorities as before.

But Mohammed had too much firmness of character to sink under these accumulated misfortunes. He opened a campaign against the Christians, in which he resolved either to conquer, or to bury himself under the ruins of his monarchy. Having, thanks to their civil troubles, reduced two fortresses, he laid siege to the more important one of Baena. In a combat under the walls of that place, he one day sent his lance through the body of a Christian horseman. As the lance was ornamented with jewels, some of his attendants hastened to recover it, when he detained them, saying, "Let the poor wretch alone! If he should not die of his wound, let him, at least, have something to pay for its cure!" Baena soon capitulated, and in one single campaign Mohammed was fortunate enough to recover all the fortresses he had lost, and even gained Gibraltar.
A.H. Othman, too, returned to his duty, and was pardoned.
730. The year following, however (730), though the last place was unsuccessfully besieged by king Alfonso XI., Mohammed was signally defeated by the Castilian monarch, and again deprived of a portion of the places he had recovered.

At this time, owing, probably, to the re-appearance of the Castilian king on the field of battle, Mohammed applied for aid to the king of Fez; and an African army immediately passed the Straits. But, as the reader must long ago have observed, such aid was generally dearly bought by the Mohammedans of Spain. The new ally, when unsuspectingly received into Gibraltar, did not scruple to usurp the possession of that important fortress. Too weak to think of revenge, the king of Granada could only tamely acquiesce in the usurpation; and the Moors, the most perfidious of men, gloried in their prize. When Alfonso was momentarily freed from the curse of rebellion,—a curse which seldom failed to afflict the sovereigns of his nation during the middle ages,—he laid siege to the place; but after vigorously investing it a few months, he was compelled to retire, partly on account of the commotions which

again broke out at home, and partly through the valour of the Spanish Moors, who hastened to relieve the place, though it had been so perfidiously usurped from them. But perfidy was not the only thing Mohammed was to receive from his worthless allies. While he remained at Gibraltar, he could not forbear reproaching the chiefs who had, in his opinion at least, so inadequately defended the place, which, indeed, they had been on the point of surrendering. True to their character, which is repugnant alike to faith or gratitude, they vowed his destruction. They knew that he had promised to visit their sovereign Abu Hassan in Africa; that before his embarkation he would dismiss his army, except an escort of cavalry; and they waited for the opportunity of executing their murderous intention. No sooner were his troops on their return to Granada, than assassins hourly watched his motions. One day (the 13th of the moon Dylhagia, A. H. 733), when he left his camp to enjoy his favourite amusement of hunting, these assassins waylaid and killed him in a narrow defile, where his escort could not defend him. His incensed soldiers returned to the camp, with the view of taking a signal revenge of their base allies; but the Africans shut the gates of the fortress, and from the ramparts insulted and defied them.*

YUSSEF ABUL HEGIAG, who at the time of his brother's death was returning from Gibraltar with the army, was immediately raised to the throne. A. H. 733 to 739.

The first care of this prince, who was at once the most pacific, the most patriotic, and the most enlightened of the Nassir dynasty since the days of its founder, was to procure a truce of four years from king Alfonso. This interval of hostilities he employed in reforming the administration of justice, in promoting the interests of

* Abu Abdalla Vestis Acu Picta (Regum Marinorum Series), p. 237.; necnon Splendor Plenilunii, pp. 291—297. (apud Casiri, tom. ii.). This writer, though rather diffuse on the events of this period, relates very coolly the murder of the prince, which does not even draw one word of reprobation from him. Cronica del muy Esclarecido Principe y Rey Don Alfonso el Onzeno, passim. Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 179—194.

religion and morals, in the encouragement of the mechanical and other useful arts, and in the cultivation of letters. His wise and paternal sway recalled the halcyon days of the third Abderahman. His failings, however, must be allowed to detract from the excellence of his character. Either he must have been so much engrossed by his favourite pursuits, as to neglect his first and most imperative of duties, — the cares of government, — or he must have been blinded by partiality in the choice of his ministers. The first of these ministers, who was haughty, rapacious, and cruel, he was persuaded to depose: the second, a man of stern integrity, showed so much zeal in the punishment of crimes, that justice degenerated into blind vengeance. Unfortunately for the subjects of Yussef, the latter retained his post long enough to do much mischief. Slight offences were visited with death; and in the summary executions on every side, the innocent were often confounded with the guilty. It was probably owing to the sweeping cruelty of this arbitrary man, that Yussef himself subsequently caused the laws to be explained, the relation between crimes and punishments to be clearly and briefly defined, and the knowledge, both of the social duties, and of the penalties involved in their violation, made known to all his people. But if he wished justice to be done between his subjects, he himself was not slow, on one occasion at least, to plead his sovereign exception from its exercise. He had a friend, Omar by name, for whom he felt, perhaps, as much affection as a monarch usually feels for a subject, whose influence was unbounded, and whose services were deserving of signal favour. One day the whole city was surprised to hear of this favourite's disgrace. He had the misfortune to be the rival of his prince in the affections of a Moorish lady, who, unlike most of her sex, preferred the servant to the master. Yussef could never forgive the man whom he had overwhelmed with the gifts of fortune, for not sacrificing even the strongest and dearest of pas-

sions to gratify him; and Omar was consigned to a dungeon.

Soon after the termination of the truce, Alfonso, having reduced his domestic enemies to submission, prepared for war: Yussef did the same. The fate of his brother did not prevent the latter from again seeking the alliance of the Africans, an army of whom, towards the close of the year 740, landed on the coasts of Andalusia. Orders had been given to the Castilian admiral to intercept this armament; and his inability to do so was imputed to him as a crime by some of Alfonso's courtiers, who even insinuated a doubt whether he was not in correspondence with the enemy. This injurious suspicion so wrought on this brave officer, that, with his small fleet, he had the rashness to seek out that of the enemy, many times his superior in strength, and to attack it. The consequences, as might naturally be expected, were fatal to the hopes of Alfonso, whose ships were almost all either taken or sunk. The Castilian king had now the mortification to see Andalusia overrun by African troops, and their king, Abul Hassan, master of the deep. The news of this victory was joyfully received at Granada, where it roused the citizens to greater eagerness for war. Yussef hastened to Algeziras to greet his ally. Here, having agreed on the plan of the ensuing campaign, they opened it by the siege of Tarifa, while detachments of their troops spread devastation to the gates of Xeres and Sidonia. One of these detachments, however, after an unsuccessful assault on Arcos, was cut off by a sortie of the Castilian garrison. To revenge this check, both Mohammedan princes ordered new levies, and pushed the operations of the siege with new vigour. But the besieged defended themselves with great valour; and it was not until their provisions were exhausted, that they sent urgent messengers to Alfonso, praying for aid. This prince at length despatched another fleet (chiefly supplied by the Genoese), to cruise in the Straits of Gib-

A. H. 740. 741.

raltar, and cut off all communication between the king of Fez and the African continent. This fleet, however, had no better success than the former; most of the ships were driven on shore by the violence of the tempest, and became the prize of the misbelievers. The king now perceived that the time was arrived when he must either march to raise the siege, or submit to see his provinces laid waste by a merciless foe. Accompanied by his ally, the king of Portugal, he advanced towards the camp of the besiegers, which they reached in October, A. D. 1340, as it lay encamped on the little river Salado. Having thrown supplies into the place, notwithstanding the opposition of the enemy, the two Christian kings next agreed that while Alfonso engaged the Africans, the other should fall on the troops of Yussef.

On the morning of the battle, the most memorable that had occurred between the two powers since that which had annihilated the force of Africa on the plains of Tolosa*, Alfonso having confessed and communicated from the hands of the archbishop of Toledo, passed the river at the head of his troops, and the struggle began. That the Christians must have performed prodigies of valour will readily be believed, when it is considered that their number did not probably exceed a fourth part of the enemy's forces.† At one time Alfonso himself was in great danger. His standard-bearer and the bulk of his guard had passed on to occupy an eminence, which was no sooner perceived by the Moors, than he was assailed by a whole multitude. They found him prepared:—"Do not forget," said the Christian hero to his handful of defenders, "that your king is here; that he is about to witness your valour and you his!" At the same time he prepared to plunge into the midst of the affray, when the archbishop of Toledo seized the

* See page 45. of the present volume.

† The Spanish histories estimate their own number, no doubt correctly, at about 60,000, that of the enemy at 460,000. This disproportion is too absurd to be received.

bridle of his horse, reminding him that he ought not, by seeking his own destruction, to risk that of his army, especially as the battle on other parts of the field was evidently in his favour. The arrival of some troops, who were made acquainted with his critical position, enabled him to disperse his opponents, and to superintend the action, which was now become general, nearer the centre of strife. At mid-day the African tribes, exhausted by fatigue, and discouraged by the severe loss they had sustained, began to give way. A seasonable charge by the garrison of Tarifa accelerated their flight. A considerable number indeed returned to defend the tent of their king, which the Christians were furiously assailing; but they were soon dissipated, or added to the slaughtered heaps around; the royal pavilion was forced, and an immense plunder, with the favourite women of Abul Hassan, became the prize of the victors. During these momentous events, Yussef nobly maintained the honour of the Andalusian name, at the head of his cavalry; but seeing the Africans fleeing in every direction, and being equally disheartened by the severity of his own loss, he gave the signal for his troops to retreat. While Abul Hassan fled precipitately to Gibraltar, and thence without delay into Africa, to sustain the complaints and murmurs of his people, Yussef also fled by sea to Almuñecar, to join with his subjects in the universal mourning caused by this disaster. To ascertain the number of the slain is impossible, but it was doubtless immense; scarcely a family in Granada which had not to mourn the loss of a member.* The submission of several fortresses in the vicinity followed this almost miraculous victory; and the ensuing year the destruction of the Mohammedan fleet was effected by that of the Christians; for Alfonso had succeeded in forming a

* It is outrageously fixed by the Spanish writers at 200,000, while their own is modestly reduced to twenty individuals! Its extent, however, is amply admitted by Abu Abdalla: — "Infortunium alterum huic simile Mohametanis nunquam accidisse fertur," are the words of his translator Casiri.

third from the wrecks of the two former, and from the ships which arrived from Portugal, Aragon, and Italy.*

A. H. 743 to 753. In A. H. 743, Alfonso, who had greatly recruited his army, having resolved to profit by his successes, laid siege to Algeziras. Yussef hastened to relieve the place, but without success. Defeated by the Castilian army, disappointed in the succour he had expected from Africa, he had no alternative but to procure as favourable terms of capitulation as he could. The garrison and inhabitants were permitted to retire with their property; the fortress was immediately entered by the Christians, and a truce for ten years was granted to Yussef, on condition, if we may believe the Spanish chroniclers, of his doing homage to Alfonso.† Before the expiration, however, of this period (in A. H. 750), the Castilian king invested Gibraltar, the possession of which would have enabled him to command the approaches into Andalusia, and destroy the communication between Spain and Africa. But a contagious disorder broke out among his troops; he himself became its victim, after a siege of six months, just as the place was reduced to extremities, and the Christians retired from the fatal spot. Though glad to be rid of so formidable a rival, Yussef honoured alike the virtues and valour of Alfonso, whom he justly regarded as one of the greatest princes Spain had ever produced, and for whom both he and his court appeared in mourning.

Yussef did not long survive his illustrious contemporary. On the first day of the moon Xawal (A. H. 753) he was stabbed, while at prayers in the mosque, by a madman. His character has been already described; but it would be impossible to recount all the acts which endeared him to his people. The care which he took

* Chronicon Conimbricense, p. 343. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxiii.). Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Onzeno, passim. Zurita, Anales de la Corona de Aragon (in regnis Alfonso IV. et Pedro IV.). To these add the fragments of Casiri and Condé, by Marlés.

† The same chroniclers tell us that during the siege a Moor was employed to assassinate Alfonso. This may be very true.

of their religion proves the sincerity of his own. He ordered that prayers should be made in public daily, and the Koran explained on certain fixed days; that no Mussulman should be absent from these religious exercises; and as some alleged for an excuse the distance of their habitations from any mosque, he commanded that in future no habitation should be built more than two leagues from a house of prayer, unless twelve such habitations were built at the same time; in which case a mosque should be erected for the convenience of the inmates. The men, he enjoined, should be separated from the women, and should not be allowed to leave the mosque until the latter had departed. He abolished many abuses which had gradually crept into the discipline of Islamism, such as nocturnal assemblies in the mosques, public processions in time of drought for procuring rain from heaven*, hired mourners at funerals, the use of amulets and garlands for the dead, &c.† But his regulations for the police were, next to his improvements in the laws and their administration, the most beneficial of his measures. He divided each great town into districts, placed an inspector over each,

* Yussef caused a prayer to be composed expressly for the purpose, in which Heaven was requested to have mercy on the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air; to look on the poor withered plants; to spread abroad the dew of His goodness; to hear and answer the prayers of the faithful, lest the infidels should deride them, &c.

† A formula for the dead also was given, to be repeated by the faqui, or some other leading person, at the tomb:—

"Alla Hu Akbar! Glory to God, who sends death and resurrection! Glory to God, the High and the Mighty! Oh, Lord! bless Mahomet and his disciples! This our dead brother was thy servant. Thou didst create and preserve him, and thou wilt one day raise him. Thou knowest his whole life, public and private. We beseech thee for him! Defend him against the temptation of the tomb—deliver him from the torments of Gehenna! Cleanse thy servant from his sins—open before him the gates of Paradise! If he has been righteous, grant him thy glorious rewards; if he has been wicked, pardon him, for thou art goodness and mercy!" &c. Again the "Alla Hu Akbar!" was thrice repeated; and the speaker added;—

"Lord God! pardon the living and the dead—those who are here present, as well as the absent, the old and the young, men and women! All our hope is in thee. Protect us, and strengthen us at the hour of death! Deliver us from Gehenna, and grant that our lives may have a holy ending!"

When the corpse was deposited in the tomb;—

"O Lord! our brother returneth unto thee: he leaveth the world to return unto thee! Receive him into thy mercy!"

caused patrols to parade the streets during the night, fixed the hour when the gates of each city should be closed in the evening and opened in the morning; regulated the markets, the manner of buying and selling, the prices of provisions, &c. With respect to the laws, to which allusion has been made, the Andalusian writers do not give us much information. At first, adultery, fornication, &c. were visited with the same capital penalty as murder; but as the feelings of men revolted at the severity of the punishment, ample latitude was allowed for the criminal's escape by a subsequent clause that the act should not be considered as proved unless witnessed by *four* veracious individuals.* Afterwards the penalty of death was displaced by that of imprisonment, the term to vary according to the circumstances of the case, and to be determined by the discretion of the judge. In general, however, even this mitigated punishment was evaded; the parties, if equal in their condition, being compelled to marry. Theft was severely chastised: for the first offence the culprit lost his right hand; for the second, his right foot; for the third, his left hand; for the fourth, his left foot. The king, however, at the recommendation of the cadi, frequently mitigated this dreadful penalty. Regulations no less salutary were introduced into the army. The horseman who fled before the enemy, unless that enemy numbered three to one, or unless the order for retreat were given by the Mussulman general, was punished with death. Women and children, the sick, the old, and those consecrated to God, were not to be massacred unless found with arms in their hands, and using those arms against the faithful.† The memory of Yussef must be respected, when it is known that he who disregarded this last prohibition was to be executed. It may indeed be said, and

* This is something like the laws of the Wisigoths, which would allow no woman to have lost her reputation who could not be proved to have been guilty with five different men.

† See the instructions given to his army by one of the immediate successors of Mahomet, in Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. v. chapter 50. (4to. edition.)

truly said, that the humane prohibition was often disregarded, and with impunity: for who would dare to punish thousands of offenders? but a certain number would always be found conscientious enough to fulfil the law of their ancient caliphs, now restored by their king. Another restoration of the ancient discipline was, that the Christian who embraced the faith of Islam should preserve his property, or receive its value if it had been already distributed. Finally, Yussef was behind few if any of his predecessors in the care of embellishing Granada with the most splendid architectural monuments.*

MOHAMMED V., the eldest son of Yussef, had virtues worthy of any throne, but they did not exempt him from the curse of rebellion. One of his first acts was to confer on his brother Ismail, to whom he bore an affection truly paternal, a magnificent palace near the Alhambra. But the mother of Ismail had long planned the elevation of her son; and on the assassination of Yussef had seized a great portion of the royal treasures, with which she laboured to form a powerful party. She first gained over her daughter, the wife of Abu Said Abdalla, one of the great pillars of the throne; and the latter, who had considerable influence over her husband, had little difficulty in moulding him to her purpose. The party silently but rapidly increased, waiting only for some favourable opportunity of deposing the reigning king, and of elevating their patron and employer to the slippery dignity. A. H. 753 to 760.

But such was the love borne to Mohammed, and the tranquillity of his reign, that the conspirators, hopeless of the opportunity they sought, resolved to accomplish

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta (Regum Marinorum Series), p. 237, &c.; necnon Splendor Plenilunii, p. 304, &c. (apud Casiri Biblioth. Arab. Hisp. tom. ii.); Juan Nunez de Villasan, Cronica del muy Esclarecido Principe y Rey Don Alfonso el Onzeno, &c. p. 200. to the end (4to. edition); Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno don Pedro IV.), tom. ii.; Condé, by Marlès, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 194—229.; D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, passim. This last excellent writer, however, gives us little information either as to the history or the literature of Moorish Spain.

their purpose by open violence. On the 28th day of the moon Ramasan (A. H. 760), one hundred of the most resolute among them scaled, by night, the palace of Mohammed, descended through the roof, and lay hid until midnight. On a signal being given, they rushed down the grand staircase and along the passages,—a sword in one hand, a torch in the other,—raising loud cries, and putting to death every individual they met. At the same moment, a more numerous body from without overwhelmed and massacred the guard; while a third proceeded to the house of the hagib, where they massacred him, his son, and his domestics, and laid hands on every thing they could carry away. Astonished at the ample treasures which they found in the palace, they forgot for a time their original purpose, and eagerly grasped the spoil. The opportunity was not lost: one of Mohammed's women speedily clad him in the vestments of a female slave, descended with him to the garden, and both succeeded in gaining the open country. Before daybreak he reached Guadix, the inhabitants of which received him with affection, and served him with fidelity. Soon after sunrise, Abu Said and his accomplices placed Ismail on horseback, led him through the streets of Granada, and proclaimed him Prince of the Faithful. As usual, the mob hailed the new ruler with deafening shouts.

A. H. 761. When the conspirators saw that Mohammed had not only escaped, but found zealous adherents, they endeavoured to strengthen themselves by an alliance with Pedro the Cruel, king of Leon and Castile; as the condition of which, they offered the sovereignty of Granada. Pedro readily accepted the condition. Mohammed next applied for his aid, and received the same promises: he was evidently waiting to draw his own advantages from both. The dethroned monarch next proceeded to Fez (761), and prevailed on the king of that place to arm in his behalf. In the mean time, Ismail found his usurped throne surrounded by danger and difficulty.

Domineered over by Abu Said, the instrument of his elevation, before whom his feeble character was forced to bend, and regarded with indifference by the mob, he shut himself up in his harem, — alike averse and unqualified for public affairs. Abu Said soon plotted to dethrone this phantom of a king. He had little difficulty in persuading the populace to surround the palace, and demand not merely the deposition, but the head, of Ismail. The impotent king fled to the fortress of the Alhambra; but being induced to risk the fate of a battle, he fell into the hands of his enemy, who, after upbraiding him for the vices of his government, ordered him in a loud voice to be led to prison, but in an under tone to be assassinated on the way. The deed was punctually performed; and the head of Ismail was shown to the applauding populace, who dragged it, as well as one which was now struck off a brother of Ismail, by the hair, through the mire. The people then proclaimed Abu Said.

In 762, Mohammed disembarked at Gibraltar, followed by an army of Africans, and rapidly advanced on Granada. The usurper endeavoured to arrest his progress; but the number of Africans was so great, that his partisans dared not risk a battle. But what their valour could not effect, fortune did for him: the invaders were unexpectedly summoned back to Fez by one of the revolutions so common in Mohammedan history, and of almost daily occurrence in Africa. Deserted by his allies, Mohammed now threw himself into Ronda, where he renewed his correspondence with the new monarch of Fez, and with the king of Castile. At length Pedro marched to the relief of the suppliant. To prepare for the approaching storm, Abu Said despatched a strong body of cavalry to lay waste the frontier of Cordova, and at the same time allied himself with Pedro's mortal enemy, the king of Aragon. While Pedro made an unsuccessful attack on Antequera, a division of his cavalry, under the grand masters of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, accompanied by Mohammed, appeared within

A.H. 762.

A. H. 763. sight of Granada. The exiled king seems to have held out the hope that his re-appearance among his subjects would be the signal for universal defection from the cause of the usurper. He was soon undeceived: few, if any of them, left the city to join him. The Christian army retired to Alcala Real; some accounts say in consequence of Mohammed's aversion to shed the blood of his people, while he himself again sought his retreat of Ronda.*

764 to 793. But Mohammed was not always destined to be thus unsuccessful: he was first to be rid of his usurping rival. Soon after the retreat of Pedro, the troops of Abu Said, having been defeated by the Christians near the Guadalquivir, were more fortunate at Guadix. A detachment of cavalry, under the grand master of Calatrava, was cut in pieces, or obliged to surrender. The general himself was among the prisoners; and as he was understood to be nearly connected with the Castilian king, Abu Said, in the view of gaining a friend or disarming an enemy, sent him and the other prisoners home without ransom. As the city of Malaga declared at this time for the lawful sovereign, the usurper was the more anxious to obtain the favour of Pedro. The sensation which the intelligence of this event caused in Granada itself seriously alarmed him: to withstand both the Christians and his revolted subjects was impossible. In this emergency, he decided on the same expedient as had been adopted by the founder of his kingdom: he resolved, in person, to do homage to the crown of Castile, and hold Granada thenceforth as an hereditary fief. With an escort of 400 horse and 200 foot, and his richest treasures, he went to Baena, and demanded from the prior of St. John a safe-conduct to the presence of Pedro. The prior acquainted his sovereign with the demand; and having immediately received from Seville the necessary authority, he em-

* The Mohammedan writers, always supposing that Condé is faithfully rendered by Marlés, make Pedro himself advance in sight of Granada with his whole army. This is an error, which Marlés ought to have corrected.

powered the Moor to proceed. Accordingly, Abu Said repaired to that city, and was very favourably received by the king. But the riches which the Moor had with him, even after presenting a considerable portion to Pedro, awoke the avarice of that prince, who planned one of the blackest and most extraordinary crimes ever devised by crowned head. This was no other than to put to death his unsuspecting guest and vassal, with that prince's companions, and thereby to become possessed of the wealth he coveted. Having agreed with some of his creatures on the conduct of this dark tragedy, one of them — the master, too, of a religious order of knighthood — invited Abu Said to an entertainment, who readily accepted the invitation. While at table, a number of armed men entered the apartment, seized on the Moorish king and his companions, rifled them, and dragged them to prison. The following day Abu Said and thirty-seven of his companions were paraded through the streets of Seville (the king himself being mounted on an ass, and clad in a scarlet petticoat), and were preceded by a herald, who cried in a loud voice that these were persons whom king don Pedro had condemned to death for dethroning their lawful sovereign. Being conducted to a field behind the Alcazar, Abu Said was pierced to the heart by the royal hand of the ferocious Pedro, while his companions were despatched by the tyrant's satellites. "Behold the judgment," cried the same herald, "which the king our lord hath caused to be done on these traitors!" *

No sooner did Mohammed hear of this almost incredible deed, than he hastened to Granada, and was received with acclamations by the very mob which three years before had attempted his life. Knowing that it was his interest to preserve a good understanding with the formidable assassin of Seville, he sent, in return for the head of Abu Said, twenty-five of his best horses richly caparisoned, as many scimitars adorned

* The remaining persons composing the Moorish escort were sold as slaves.

with precious stones, and all the Christian prisoners unransomed who yet remained in the fortresses of his kingdom.

The remainder of Mohammed's life was troubled by one unimportant revolt only, which was speedily repressed. In the wars between Pedro and Enrique, in which the latter triumphed, he furnished some thousands of troops to the former; and on one occasion at least took a personal share in the war, less for the sake of his ally, than to profit by the dissensions of the Christians, and recover some of the conquests lost by his immediate predecessors. He took and ruined Algeziras, but was induced to make peace with king Enrique. Having devoted his days to promote the welfare of his people, he died, A.H. 793, lamented by all.*

A. H. 793 to 799. Yussef II. (Abu Abdalla) commenced his reign by imitating alike his father's policy and virtues, by renewing the truce with, perhaps doing homage to, the crown of Castile, and by assiduously endeavouring to promote the happiness of his people. Scarcely, however, was he seated on his throne, where he narrowly escaped falling a victim to the rebellion of his younger son Mohammed. That prince, jealous of the rights attached to the primogeniture of his brother, endeavoured not only to exclude that brother, but to hurl his parent from the throne. By artfully representing his father as a Christian at heart (and, as Yussef was an open protector of the Christians, the multitude readily credited the report), he prevailed on them to surround the royal palace, and demand the deposition of the reigning king. Their number was so great, and their clamour

* Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta (Regum Marinorum Series), p. 242, &c.; necnon Splendor Plenilunii, p. 306, &c. (apud Casiri, Bibliotheca Arab. Hisp. tom. ii.); Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Cronica del Serenissimo Rey Don Pedro, &c. fol. 88, &c.; Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, cap. 14. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 83. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. v.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno don Pedro IV.), tom. ii.; Condé, by Marlès, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 229—244.

We regret that we must here take leave of Abu Abdalla, whose work (Splendor Plenilunii) ends before the death of Mohammed, in A.H. 765. Eleven years afterwards he was put to death, by order of Mohammed, on a charge, whether true or false, of high treason.

so loud, that Yussef was on the point of abdicating, when the ambassador of Fez went out and harangued them. He observed, that if they had any doubt of their king being a true Mussulman, their best policy was to demand a war with Castile, and if Yussef showed any hesitation to lead them on, then would be the time to displace him. The reasonableness of the observation was so evident, that even the multitude could understand it, and war was instantly decreed. Murcia A. H. was invaded, but without much effect; a circumstance 794. which completely cooled the blind fanaticism of these zealots; and as Yussef took care to explain to Enrique of Castile the cause of his compulsory arming, peace was soon restored between the two states. On a subsequent 798. occasion (798), the Christian monarch was no less ready to disavow the hostile irruption of the grand master of Alcantara, who, pushed by the same fanaticism *, advanced into the plains of Granada, and was cut to pieces with his little troop. The Moorish king did not long survive this event: as he was still young, his death was as usual, attributed to some extraordinary cause. †

No sooner had Yussef expired, than MOHAMMED VI., 799. by means of his partisans, seized on the sceptre, to the prejudice of his elder brother. It does not appear that Yussef ben Yussef made any attempt to enforce his rights. All his ambition was to lead a quiet life; and he probably felt litle regret on being exiled to the fortress of Salobrena with his wives and domestics.

This prince commenced his reign by the very same 800 policy which he had condemned in his father: he to renewed the peace with the Christians. He even paid 813. a secret visit to Seville, and had a long interview on the subject with the young king, Enrique III. But peace could not always be preserved: the governors of the

* He was persuaded by a hermit, Juan Sago by name, to invade the Moorish kingdom with about 300 horse and 1000 foot soldiers, on the assurance that not a single follower would fall, and that the expulsion of the Moors from their very capital was — so Heaven decreed — reserved for him alone.

† He is said to have been poisoned, like Hercules of old, by a tunic sent him by the king of Fez.

frontier fortresses frequently violated it; and more than once both kings armed to punish aggression, or to derive advantage from the partial and alternate successes of their too zealous servants. In 808 the Mohammedans took Ayamonte; the year following, they defeated a small army of Christians on the banks of the Guadiana; in a second engagement they were defeated in turn, the
A. H. success of a third was doubtful. In the two succeeding
810. campaigns they were less fortunate. Fernando, the regent of Castile, reduced Zahara, retook Ayamonte, and several other fortresses. Wearied with their mutual fatigues, both parties at length agreed to a truce, and returned to their respective posts.

Mohammed had scarcely retired to his capital, when he was seized by an illness which he felt would be fatal. His end corresponded with his stormy and unprincipled life. With the view of securing the crown to his son, he wrote to the alcalde of Salobrena, ordering the head of his brother to be returned by the messenger, Ahmed, an officer of his guard.* When Ahmed arrived at Salobrena, he found the prince playing at chess with the alcalde. No sooner had the latter glanced his eyes over the fatal writing than he turned pale; for the good qualities of Yussef had won his heart and the hearts of all in the fortress. He knew not how to break the intelligence to the intended victim; but his agitation betrayed some dreadful truth: Yussef took the scroll from his trembling hands, and, on perusing it mildly requested that a few hours' respite might be allowed to take a last leave of his family. This Ahmed refused to grant; justly observing, that unless the head of the prince were in Granada at a certain hour, his own must fall as the penalty of disobedience. Yussef then begged that he and the alcalde might be permitted to finish their game,—a request which Ahmed reluctantly granted. But whatever might be the composure of the

* "Alcalde of Salobrena, my servant,—
"As soon as Ahmed ben Xarac, officer of my guards, shall deliver thee this writing, thou wilt put to death the Cid Yussef, my brother, and send his head by the same messenger. I rely on thy zeal to serve me."

prince, the alcalde was so agitated that he lost all command over his judgment, and committed such egregious blunders, that his opponent in the game rallied him on his distraction. Just as the game was concluded, two horsemen arrived full speed from Granada, entered the apartment, announced the death of Mohammed, and kissed the hand of Yussef as the new sovereign. The prince could scarcely believe in the extraordinary change of his fortunes, until other messengers confirmed its reality.

YUSSEF III., who had passed thirteen years in that best of schools, adversity, became a wise and paternal sovereign, averse to war abroad and cruelty at home, and placing his chief happiness in the weal of his people. But war he could not at first avoid; because he refused to acknowledge himself the vassal of Castile. Its issue by no means corresponded with his wishes. If he recovered Zahara, he lost Antequera. If he had the glory of giving a new sovereign to Fez in the person of the cid Abu Said, brother to the reigning king of that place, who had sought his protection, he was obliged to purchase peace from the two formidable Christians. From this time (817) to his death, that peace was uninterrupted. He died in 827, and with him ended the tranquillity of his country.* A. H. 813 to 827.

MOHAMMED (MULEY) VII. was surnamed El Hayzari, or the Left-handed,—whether because he really used that hand in preference, or on account of his ill-fortune, is uncertain. Of a haughty and overbearing character, he was little fitted to rule a people so turbulent as those of Granada. Of all the wise counsels which he had received from his father, he followed only one—the preservation of peace with the Christians. Hence he became not merely unpopular, but so odious, that the people would have dethroned him soon after his accession, had not they been restrained by the prudent 827 to 833.

* Authorities: Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla, passim. Rod. Santius, Historia Hispanica, cap. 16. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 90. (apud Schottum, tom. i.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regnos don Juan I., don Martin, don Fernando I., don Alfonso V.); Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 244—275.

gravity of the hagib Yussef ben Zeragh*, one of the most influential sheiks of the kingdom. At length, when Mohammed had prohibited some favourite public diversions, the spirit of insubordination broke out, the Alhambra was invested, the king escaped from the city to the court of his kinsman, the sovereign of Tunis, and his cousin Mohammed el Zaquir was raised to the vacant dignity. But MOHAMMED VIII. was not long
A. H. 831. to enjoy his usurped power. Though he restored the favourite amusements of the people, he laboured to annihilate the party of the lawful sovereign, and by so doing created many powerful enemies. Not a few sought an asylum at the court of don Juan, the young king of Castile, whom they interested in the cause of the exiled king. Juan wrote to the king of Tunis, in favour of Mohammed, whose restoration he promised to aid by force of arms. This encouragement was not
833. thrown away on the exile. Accompanied by 500 African horse, he passed the strait, landed in Andalusia, was joined not only by the Christians, but by the very partisans of El Zaquir, and was triumphantly borne to the capital without a single engagement. The usurper was besieged in the Alhambra, was surrounded by his own soldiers, and beheaded, and El Hayzari was restored.

833 to 837. But as gratitude is seldom the most prominent virtue of princes, Mohammed showed little disposition to discharge the obligations he had contracted with the king of Castile, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his restoration. The troubles which seldom ceased to distract that kingdom, and now raged with additional violence, seemed to afford him an opportunity of breaking his faith with impunity. He was justly undeceived: having pacified his states, Juan invaded the Moorish
834. kingdom, forced Mohammed to retreat into the capital, took Illora, Archidona, &c., and an immense booty. This was not the worst of Mohammed's disasters: he

* From this sheik is derived the imaginary tribe of the Abencerrages, so famous in Spanish romance, and so well known to youthful readers from Florian's bombastic Gonsale de Cordoue.

found in his capital an enemy more to be dreaded than even the Castilian. Yussef ben Alhamar, descended from the first kings of Granada, seeing the unpopularity into which Mohammed was fallen, both from the ill success of the war and from his personal character, aimed at dethroning him. Being persuaded by his friends to seek the alliance of Juan, Yussef sent a trusty agent to Seville, and offered to become a faithful vassal of Castile, on condition of support. The condition was accepted; an army was raised to aid his pretensions. His partisans increased so rapidly, that he left Granada, erected the standard of revolt, and was joined by eight thousand of the citizens and by his Christian ally. The two princes encamped at the foot A. H. of the mountains of Elvira, within sight of the capital. 885. But patriotism was not yet dead in the bosoms of the inhabitants: the impending danger armed them all in defence of their walls; various sorties were made; and at length a general action ensued, in which they lost the flower of their population, and their best troops. Even this disaster did not discourage either them or their king, and they resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their habitations rather than submit to the yoke of the Christians. Fortunately for them, Juan, although willing to invest the place, was persuaded by his counsellors to desist from the undertaking, on the ground that his army was without money and provisions. Before his return, however, he caused Yussef to be declared king of Granada, and enjoined his garrisons on the frontiers to assist the latter by every means in their power. This declaration produced considerable effect: many fortified places acknowledged Yussef, whose army was soon so much increased that he was prepared to assume the offensive. In 836, Aben Zeragh, the general of Mohammed, was signally defeated and slain; the victor marched on Granada, and was joined on his way by a multitude of adherents. Mohammed was exhorted, even by his own partisans, to spare the city the horrors of an assault. Seeing that re-

sistance was hopeless, he collected his treasures and his women, and fled to Malaga. Yussef entered the capital at the head of 600 horse only, as if to show that he owed his elevation not to force, but to the will of the people. He speedily convoked the walis, the nazirs, and the sheiks of the kingdom, to receive their oaths of fidelity. But the life of Mohammed was chequered with the most extraordinary alternations of fortune that ever befell monarch; — his rival died after six months' reign, and he was again recalled from exile to occupy the throne.

A. H. 837 to 849. The web of Mohammed's singular fate, however, was not yet fully woven: he was to be dethroned a third time. A respite of some years, indeed, was allowed him before his final degradation — if that can be called a respite, where he could enjoy no peace within or without. Every season his kingdom was laid waste by the Christian governors of the frontiers, who, though Castile was again the prey of civil dissensions, were not the less eager for the plunder of the Moors. Their devastations reduced the peaceable inhabitants to the greatest misery.* The two Velez, El Blanco and El Rubio, were so much discouraged by these periodical irruptions, that,

* When the reader meets with such words as *devastated*, *laid waste*, &c. he is to understand them *literally*. In the armies of the Christian invaders — and the case was the same with the Moorish, when they could penetrate into the territories of their enemies — were always a numerous body of soldiers, called *taladores*, whose duty was to cut down every fruit tree, every field of corn, every vine, and utterly to ruin every garden; while the rest of the army fought with the enemy.

"Toda esta gente, que eran fasta seis mil homes á caballo e doce mil peones; entraron en el reyno de Granada contra los partes de Malaga, e talaron luego los panes, e viñas, e olivares, e figuerales, e todas los otras cosas que fallaron, en el circuito de la villa de Alora. Y entre tanto que la tala se facia, la batalla de la gente del duque de Medina, etc.; se pusieron delante de la villa para facer resistencia á los Moros que estaban en guarda della que no saliesen á facer daño en los taladores.

"Talada toda aquella tierra, la hueste paso, y talaron todos los panes, e olivares, e viñas, e huertas, e figuerales, e todas los otros arboles que fallaron en los valles e tierras de Copin, e del Sabinal, e de Cazarabonela, e de Almeria, e de Cartama, en lo qual estuvieron diez dias. E los Moros de Cartama salieron, á defender la tala que se facia en los huertas, que eran cerea de la villa," &c. — *Hernando del Pulgar, Cronica de los Señores Reyes Catolicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, p. 226.

Thus the taladores, or cutters down, went on from valley to valley, until they had made a desert of all. This was war in all its horrors; but as these horrors must have fallen chiefly on the peaceful peasantry, the conduct of those who enjoined them cannot be too much execrated.

to avert the scourge, they opened their gates to the Christians: Baza and Guadix were, however, willing enough to pay tribute and acknowledge the king of Castile as their sovereign; but they refused to admit a Castilian garrison, and their submissions were not accepted. In these partial actions more blood was shed than would have flowed had the war been general; and the productions of the earth were every where laid waste. Hence the dissatisfaction which prevailed among the Moors, and their murmurings at the government: the conduct of Mohammed himself was not of a character to allay their discontent. His two expulsions from his capital rankled in his mind; and the chiefs who had been concerned in either were not likely to remain unpunished, whenever any pretext could be found for his severity. To escape the fate of their brethren, many took refuge at the court of Juan. Among them was Mohammed ben Ismail, a nephew of the king, who, besides his probable implication in political charges, had to complain of being thwarted in an intended marriage with a Moorish lady, and of seeing her forcibly bestowed on one of his uncle's creatures. But El Hayzari had a more formidable because a nearer enemy, whose recent object had long been to snatch the reins of government from his hands. Another nephew, Mohammed ben Osmin, seeing the increasing unpopularity of his uncle, took great pains to increase the animosity of the nobles, and to gain the populace by that never-failing argument, gold. When his plans were sufficiently matured, he raised a commotion among the people, seized first on all the forts of the city, and soon on the person of Mohammed, whom he consigned to a close prison. Thus did this unfortunate prince, in 849, disappear for ever from the stage of history.*

MOHAMMED IX. (BEN OSMIN) was immediately pro- A. H. 849.

* Fernando Perez de Guzman, Cronica del Serenissimo Rey Don Juan II., fol. 1—208.; Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno don Alfonso V.); Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, cap. 19. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 92. (apud Schottum, tom i.). Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 275—297

claimed by his own partisans; but many were hostile to his elevation. Abdelbar, who had served with much credit the office of hagib under the dethroned king, retired with a considerable number of the discontented to Montefrio. To attempt the restoration of that prince, Abdelbar knew would be vain; and he turned his thoughts towards Mohammed ben Ismail. He wrote to that prince with the offer of the sovereignty; but advised him to keep the project secret from the Castilian king, lest his departure should be opposed. Aben Ismail, however, preferred the more open and honourable part of acquainting his host with the whole business; and don Juan, so far from opposing his departure, sent express orders to the governors of the frontier fortresses to assist him in his enterprise. Accompanied by all the Moors who had sought a refuge in Castile, in 851 he arrived at Montefrio, where his party was considerably increased. But Aben Osmin, so far from dreading his preparations, still maintained a desultory warfare against the Christians, over whose isolated bands of troops he gained some advantages, and two of whose fortresses he reduced. The following year he invested Aben Ismail in Montefrio, and with another division of his army recovered the two Velez and Huescar. He was evidently equal to the difficulties of his position. Knowing the hostility borne by the kings of Navarre and Aragon to their brethren of Castile, he prevailed on them to join him in a treaty, the object of which was to invade the dominions of don Juan simultaneously on three different points. Had this treaty been carried into execution, the king of Castile, then at war not only with his two Christian neighbours, but, as usual, with his rebellious subjects, might have trembled for his independence; but, fortunately, it remained inoperative.

A. H. 852 to 859. Thus Granada had two kings, each constantly opposed to the other; while the disasters of the country were increased tenfold by the devastating irruptions of the Christians on the frontiers. During four or five years the same horrors were continued on every side; so

that the assertion made by contemporary writers, that there was scarcely a plain in the country which had not been moistened by the blood of the combatants, is no exaggeration. The party of Aben Ismail, whose qualities were well fitted to inspire confidence, rapidly increased; while that of Aben Osmin, whose disposition was stern, and whose sway was arbitrary and unjust, decreased in the same ratio. The inhabitants of Granada, while enduring the rapacious cruelty of the latter, often turned an eye of envy to their more fortunate brethren of Montefrio, and longed to change masters. They longed not in vain. No sooner was don Juan able to send a reinforcement to Aben Ismail, than that prince marched against his rival, whom he signally defeated, and whom he pursued towards the capital. Hitherto the martial success of the latter had maintained him in his post, in defiance of the popular discontent; but now that victory had deserted his standard, his former adherents left him. He called the citizens to arms: their silence showed that his reign was near its end. Before his fall, however, he resolved to be revenged on them. Under the pretext of consulting the safety of the city, he convoked the heads of the people, such especially as he knew were hostile to him; and as they successively arrived at the Alhambra, they were seized and executed by the soldiers of his guard. After this exploit, so characteristic of a Moorish prince, he secretly left the place, plunged into the mountains, and for ever disappeared from the busy stage of the world.

MOHAMMED X., the son of Ismail, was proclaimed without opposition. His first care was to send ambassadors and presents to the new king of Castile, Enrique IV., and solicit a renewal of former treaties. But Enrique, who had other views than those of his predecessor, instead of complying with the request, entered the kingdom at the head of 14,000 horse and 20,000 foot. This force would have annihilated any army which Aben Ismail could have brought into the field, and the Moors accord- A. H. 859 to 871.

ingly retired before it; sometimes, however, sending detachments of cavalry to impede its advance by harassing skirmishes. Fortunately for Aben Ismail, Enrique, finding that he could not bring the enemy to an open engagement, and that the season was rapidly declining, gave the signal to retire, with the intention of resuming hostilities early in the spring. But the next season brought with it the periodical troubles, which prevented him from thinking of foreign enterprises. As usual, however, the partisan warfare by the commandants of the frontiers raged as fatally as ever. One of them, Fernando Narvaez*, governor of Antequera, with scarcely 200 men, more than once spread alarm to the very gates of Granada. Such continual irruptions were fatal to the prosperity, and even the existence, of the Moorish kingdom, which was now bounded between the mountains of Elvira and the sea. In vain did Aben Ismail apply for a truce: the partisan warfare still raged; sometimes, indeed, to the temporary triumph of his generals, but always eventually to the permanent advantage of the enemy. In 865, Archidona and Gibraltar were reduced, and the Moorish troops every where defeated. In consternation at the gloomy aspect of affairs, Aben Ismail now submitted to hold his tenure as a fief of Castile, and to pay a tribute annually of 12,000 pistoles in gold. That this tribute was punctually paid until his death, which happened in 871, may be inferred from the harmony that continued to subsist between the two states.

A. H. 871 to 883. MULEY ALI ABUL HASSAN, the elder son of the deceased king, succeeded to a throne which required alike the highest valour and the ablest policy to maintain erect. The three first years of his reign were sufficiently tranquil; but in 874 the wali of Malaga not only revolted against his authority, but did homage for the government to the king of Castile. The incensed Abul

* See Appendix A.

Hassan, knowing that Enrique was occupied in quenching the flames of civil war, made several destructive irruptions into the territories of his superior; but however he might lay waste the frontier, he was unable to make any impression on the compact, powerful kingdom of Castile. This temporary triumph was a poor return for the troubles which still reigned at Malaga, the general rendezvous for the discontented. He tried to reduce them, but in vain. Here Mussulman was opposed to Mussulman, in a desultory warfare more ferocious than even that which had so long raged on the Christian frontier, — a warfare which continued for years with scarcely any intermission, and which made lamentable havoc among the best soldiers of the kingdom. Though in 879 (A. D. 1474) he obtained a truce from the new sovereigns of Castile, Isabel and Fernando, who were too busily occupied in opposing the partisans of the princess Juana to think of extending their possessions in the south, he had little reason for self-congratulation. If he enjoyed a temporary tranquillity from without, his harem and capital were torn by discord. The sultana Zoraya, mother of Abu Abdalla, heir-presumptive of the throne, entertained a mortal hatred towards another of his wives, a Spanish lady, and mother of two princes. As the chief affection of Abul Hassan was placed on the latter, not a few of the Moorish chiefs both in the palace and the capital espoused her interests and those of her children; while a still more numerous, though not more influential, portion adhered to Zoraya. How fatal such discord proved will soon be seen.

In 883 the truce with Castile expired, and Abul Hassan applied for its renewal. The Christian sovereigns at first required the usual condition of vassalage and tribute, which, as they were still occupied in their domestic wars, he refused to grant: they were then compelled to consent purely and simply to the renewal; but they vowed vengeance at a future period, as policy, enlightened in that age, taught them that, so long as the Moors

A. H. 883 to 888.

were suffered to domineer in any portion of the country, their subjects of the frontier could know neither security nor peace.* In 884, on the death of don Juan II., king of Aragon, Fernando succeeded to that throne; and the two powerful states of Aragon and Castile were for ever incorporated. This memorable event, by consolidating the peace of the Christians, was the signal for the destruction of the Mohammedan government. Abul Hassan prepared for the approaching storm. In 886, while the Christian sovereigns were putting an end to the troubles raised by the king of Portugal, he suddenly appeared in Andalusia, and arrived before the fortress of Zahara, which he knew was feebly garrisoned. The night was dark, the wind high, and the rain descended in torrents,—circumstances which, by inspiring a fatal security to the inhabitants, were highly favourable to the assailants. They silently scaled the walls, and took possession of the place before the surprised Christians could dream of defence. Having strengthened the fortifications, and confided their defence to a numerous garrison, he returned triumphant to Granada. But his joy was of short duration; for the important town of Alhama, one of the bulwarks of the capital itself, though about fifteen leagues distant from it, was surprised and taken, during the night, by a determined band of Christians. The intelligence spread the greatest consternation
A. H. 887. in Granada. The king hastily assembled a large army, and marched to recover it; but, hearing that Fernando was advancing to its relief, he as hastily retired. The complaints, however, of his subjects on the loss of this important place were so great, that he was compelled to invest it a second time. He pushed the operations of the siege with great vigour; but again abandoned them, on

* "El rey y la reyna ... conosciendo que ninguna guerra se debia principiar, salvo por la fe y por la seguridad, siempre tuvieron en el animo pensamiento grande de conquistar el reyno de Granada, y lanzar de todas las Españas el señorio de los Moros y el nombre de Mahoma."—*Hernando del Pulgar, Cronica de los Señores Reyes Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, p. 180.

receiving the intelligence that a conspiracy to dethrone him was active in the capital. *

On reaching Granada, the king was not surprised to find that the prime movers of the rebellion were his wife, Zoraya, and his son, Abu Abdalla. He confined both in a fortress. But Zoraya, apprehensive for the life of her son, corrupted the keepers, who allowed her women to be introduced. These, by means of their veils and tunics, tied together, let down the prince from the battlements to the foot of the tower, where a number of trusty horsemen were ready to receive him. He was immediately paraded through the city, amidst the cries of "Live the king Abu Abdalla!" and was joined by thousands of partisans. A struggle followed between father and son; both made frequent sorties from their respective fortresses, and inflicted heavy loss on the supporters of each other. The contest, however, turned to the advantage of the rebel. To recall the fidelity of his subjects, by some signal exploit, the king departed to raise the siege of Loxa, which the Christians had invested, and succeeded in forcing their army, which, however, was only 16,000 strong, to retire. On his return, he took and ruined Cañete, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. But this triumph was counterbalanced by the intelligence that his rebellious son ABU ABDALLA had seized on the Alhambra, and been recognised by the whole population of the capital. He retired to Malaga, which some time before had returned to its obedience; Guadix and Baza also declared for him.

To relate in detail the various warlike transactions and civil commotions which immediately followed, would be tedious and uninstructive: a very brief sum- A. H. 888.

* Fernando Perez de Guzmar, Cronica del Serenissimo Rey Don Juan II., passim. Hernando del Pulgar, Cronica de los Señores Reyes Catolicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel, parte tercera, cap. i.—vi. p. 180, &c. Santius, Historia Hispanica, cap. 41. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xiv. (apud Schottum, tom i.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regnis don Juan II. et Fernando II.) Marmol Carvajal, Descripcion General de Africa, tom. i. lib. ii. Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 297—326.

mary must suffice. In two consecutive actions, between isolated detachments of Christians and Moors, the latter had the advantage; but in a third, Abu Abdalla himself, who had advanced as far as Lucena, to share in the war, was defeated and made prisoner. No sooner was his capture known at Granada, than the party of Abul Hassan acquired new strength, and he was enabled to retake possession of his palace and throne. But the treasures of Zoraya were lavished to procure the liberation of her son. As that prince did not scruple to promise king Fernando that he would for ever remain the obedient vassal and tributary of the Castilian crown; as, in proof of his sincerity, he delivered up his son as a hostage, and paid a considerable sum in lieu of arrears of past tribute; and, more than all, as his liberation would perpetuate division among the Moors, and, consequently, further the designs of the Christians, he was soon liberated, and accompanied to Granada by a body of Castilian cavalry. His return, and still more the distribution of his mother's treasures, revived his sinking party, and put him in possession of the Alcazaba, one of the strongest fortresses of the city. The following day the giddy populace were again incited to embrace his cause, to proclaim his name with raving exclamations. The partisans of both father and son rallied their forces; the latter was besieged in the fortress, but at nightfall no decided success could be claimed by either. When the combat was about to be renewed the next day, some of the warriors, dissatisfied with Abul Hassan, because he was infirm with age, and with Abu Abdalla, because he was the ally of the Christians, resolved to exclude both from the throne. The father was easily induced to sacrifice his ambition to the salvation of the state; and by a simple harangue the mob were persuaded to forsake their idol. Who was the prince best fitted to undertake the reins of government in so perilous a crisis? The choice fell on the wali of Malaga, the brother of Abul Hassan, Abdalla el Zagal, a prince of valour and experi-

ence, one who had valiantly defended his frontiers against the Christians, and had obtained some advantages over them in the isolated partial contests which continually raged between the two people. The wali immediately hastened to Granada, which he entered with 100 Christian heads hanging from the saddles of his escort. These he had obtained in his passage through the mountains, and they rendered his reception not the less welcome.

ABDALLA EL ZAGAL was not unqualified for the station to which he was thus unexpectedly raised; but the individuals in whom that elevation originated must have been blind, indeed, not to perceive that it was a measure which must inevitably add to the existing anarchy. Abu Abdalla had still some determined followers; and as he was in possession of the Albaycin, one of the best fortified places of the capital, he showed no disposition to concede his pretensions to his uncle, any more than he had shown it to his father. In vain did the less ambitious or more prudent uncle propose the division of the supreme authority, that both might turn their combined forces against the invaders. As compromise was impossible, each endeavoured to fortify his pretensions by alliances,—the former with the walis of Almeria and Guadix, the latter with the Christians. Fernando naturally espoused the cause of his vassal, to whom he despatched some troops: he next took the field in person, under the pretext of succouring Abu Abdalla. He besieged and took Alora and Setenil, and defeated the Moors in two partial engagements. The slowness, however, of his operations, and the caution which he observed in every enterprise, proved that he was not without apprehension lest the two parties should combine, and render his future success, if not questionable, at least tardy. It was not until he had secured, by successive well-timed sieges, some of the chief fortresses to the north and west of the capital, that he assumed a bolder tone and a more decisive policy. In 890, he caused Ronda, Marbella, Cahir, Cartama, A. H. 889.

&c. to be invested at the same time. On the reduction of these important places, Moclin, Velez-Malaga, and Loxa, were besieged. The inhabitants of the capital now took the alarm: they perceived that, if these towns were taken, little would be left them in that direction beyond their own ramparts; and they urged their two kings, whose mutual hostility continued undiminished, to suspend their shameful contentions, and arrest the pro-
A. H. 891. gress of the Christians. Both reluctantly obeyed. Abdalla el Zagal hastened to relieve Moclin, and suceeeded; but at Velez-Malaga, the siege of which he also endeavoured to raise, he was utterly defeated, and compelled to retreat. On his return to Granada, however, the inhabitants, incensed at his failure, refused to admit him, and he retired to Guadix. Nor did better fate attend Abu Abdalla, who, having thrown himself into Loxa, was constrained to capitulate.* Though his excuses for taking up arms against his liege superior were frivolous, he was allowed to revisit his capital, where he now might indulge the hope of reigning without a rival. But that capital was almost the whole of his kingdom; for Almeria, Guadix, and Baza acknowledged his uncle, while the Christians successively obtained possession of the fortresses they had invested or summoned. About thirty surrendered at one time, and attained the same honourable conditions as Loxa.

892. The conquest or capitulation of all the fortified places in its neighbourhood had isolated the important city of Malaga, the possession of which now became the great object of the Castilians. The wali of the place, a kinsman of El Zagal, had foreseen the storm, and pre-

* Pulgar mentions an English nobleman, who, with 100 horsemen, rendered good service to king Fernando in this war. In the assault on Loxa, the English hero made terrific havoc among the Moors; but he received several slight wounds, and lost two of his teeth. After the battle, Isabel sent him a magnificent present, and Fernando visited him in his tent. In reply to the condolence of his majesty, the nobleman —

"Daba gracios à Dios y à la gloriosa Virgen su Madre, porque se veia visitado del mas puderoso rey de toda la Cristiandad, y que recibia su graciosa consolacion por los dientes aque habia perdido; nunque no reputaba mucho perder dos dientes en servicio de aquelque gelos habia dado todos."

This nobleman is called the *Conde de Escalas*, or *Escalay*. Query — the earl of Calais?

pared for it, by hiring auxiliaries from Africa, and laying in considerable supplies of provisions; the population, too, was very numerous, and animated by hatred of the Christian name. Hence the siege continued for some months to baffle the efforts of king Fernando in person, and even of queen Isabel, who repaired to the camp of her husband with the determination of remaining there until the city owned their joint sway. During the siege fanaticism aimed at reviving the Mahommedan cause by the attempted assassination of the two sovereigns. A Moor, Abrahen Algerbi by name, had left Tunis, his native country, to settle in a village near Guadix. The successes of the Christians had wrought this man to the very height of frenzy; so that he taught, and perhaps believed, that he was commissioned by Heaven to raise the siege of Malaga. He pretended to great sanctity, and to frequent revelations from above. The gravity of his deportment, and the austerity of his life, made a great impression in his neighbourhood, where he was regarded as a saint. At length 400 resolute men having prepared to aid him in the object of his mission, he set out for Malaga. Two hundred of them succeeded in gaining the city; the remainder, who ventured to attack the Christian outposts, were cut to pieces. Algerbi himself was with the latter division; but, instead of fighting, he retired a short distance from the scene of strife, and fell down on his knees to pray. In that posture he was found by the Christians, and brought before one of their generals. To such questions as were asked him he refused to give any other reply, than that he had an important communication for the king and queen, which he would not deliver to any other persons. As the king had just dined, and was laid down to sleep, and as the queen refused to see the stranger alone, the Moor was introduced into a tent near that of Fernando, in which were a Portuguese nobleman and two ladies. From the magnificent dresses of these persons, he concluded that he was in the royal tent, and that Fernando and Isabel were

before him. He instantly drew a poniard, inflicted a mortal wound on the cavalier, and had almost effected the destruction of the principal lady, when one of the queen's treasurers entered and disarmed him. Other Castilians immediately repaired to the tent, and the assassin fell beneath their swords. His mangled body was thrown over the walls; and notwithstanding the failure of his enterprise, his remains were reverently washed and interred by the besieged. The submission of the city soon followed this fruitless effort of fanaticism. There is, however, some difference between the accounts of the Moors and Christians as to the chief result. The latter say, that the place surrendered unconditionally, and that Isabel honourably distinguished herself by interceding for the inhabitants, who were allowed to retain their property, to remain or retire where they pleased; while the former assert, that the Christian troops were introduced through the treachery of a Moor, and that the place was delivered up to pillage.*

A. H. 893 to 897. The western fortresses of the kingdom being in the power of the Christians, Fernando had now two plans before him for attaining his great object: he could either at once fall on the capital, or begin with the reduction of the eastern strong-holds. He chose the latter; he knew that, if he triumphed over Abdalla el Zagal, who possessed Guadix, Baza, Almeira, Vera, &c., he should have little difficulty in dethroning the fallen Abu Abdalla. Velez el Rubio, Vera, Mujacar, &c. opened their gates on the first summons. But the Christians failed before Huescar, Baza, and Taberna; and had the worst in more than one skirmish. In 894, Fernando again hastened to the field at the head of 50,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, resolved with this formidable force to deprive the Moors of all hopes of a

* Authorities: Hernando del Pulgar, Zurita, Marmul, Carvajal, Lucius Marineus Siculus; Blancas (Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii); Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ (apud Schottum, tom. i. et iii.); and Condé, by Marlés. The truth is, that the *strangers* (the Africans, &c. whom the inhabitants had engaged as auxiliaries) were made slaves; and such even of the inhabitants as had obstinately opposed the surrender of the city were expelled from it. As usual, the mosques were immediately purified, and converted into Christian temples.

successful resistance. Under the pretence that his arms were to be directed against only the enemy of his ally, he hoped to divide still further the Moorish power. He succeeded in his purpose: the people of Granada looked on, not indeed with indifference, but certainly without much anxiety for themselves, while their ally marched against the places which still held for El Zagal. Abu Abdalla, however, was aware of the result: he even purchased a temporary security, by consenting not only to abandon his uncle, but to receive into Granada itself a Christian garrison; in other words, to deliver that capital, after the destruction of El Zagal, into the hands of Fernando. In return, he was to receive ample domain, under the title of vassalage from his feudal superior. Though the conditions of the alliance were secret, El Zagal, convinced that he should now have to encounter the whole power of the Castilians, prepared for a vigorous defence. His kinsman, the cid Yahia, with 10,000 men, he sent to Baza, which he rightly judged would be one of the first places to be invested by Fernando.

Having reduced Xucar, the Christian monarch, as had 895.
been foreseen, laid siege to Baza. This place, which was situated on the declivity of a hill; which was strong alike by nature and art, and defended by a powerful garrison; made a brave resistance during several months: but in the end, seeing that the provisions were exhausted, and many of the soldiers cut off in the frequent sorties; that the Christians had intrenched their camp, and were even encouraged to persevere by the arrival of queen Isabel; Yahia wrote to El Zagal to say that the place must inevitably be surrendered unless speedily succoured. The latter, who was busily occupied in the defence of Guadix, could not spare a single soldier for the relief of Baza: it was therefore constrained to capitulate; but conditions highly advantageous to the people were obtained from the two sovereigns. Yahia, who had several interviews with these sovereigns in their own camp, received signal proofs of their favour: the unsolicited grant of some rich domains, as an indemnification for the loss

of his government, and the winning behaviour of the queen, are said to have made so deep an impression on his mind, that he vowed not only never again to take up arms against his liege superior, but to embrace their religion, and even to prevail on his kinsman El Zagal to discontinue a fruitless resistance, and submit as he had done. That such resistance must be eventually vain; that it would only defer the inevitable hour of submission, and by exasperating the enemy it must harden the conditions of final surrender; were truths too evident to be disputed; and Yahia might, therefore, be held blameless for his conduct on this occasion. He represented to El Zagal, that Heaven, by unexpectedly uniting the two crowns of Castile and Aragon, had decreed that a third, the crown of Granada, should ornament the same brows; that fate was resistless, and prompt submission was the only path remaining to avoid either slavery or expulsion. Like a true Mussulman, El Zagal coincided in his kinsman's doctrine of predestination; he acknowledged that "Allah in his eternal decrees had resolved the destruction of Granada;" and he consented to throw himself on the generosity of Fernando. He too hastened to the Christian camp; and if personal kindness, or even regal liberality, could have atoned for the loss of a throne, he might have been satisfied. Like Yahia, he received ample domains, to be for ever possessed by his descendants*, on his consenting to receive Christian garrisons into Almeria and Guadix, the inhabitants of which were guaranteed in all their privileges as subjects. Purchena, Taberna, Almuñecar, Salobrena, and some other towns of the Alpujarras, were eager to follow the example of Baza; so that the once proud kingdom of the Moors was almost literally confined to the walls of the capital.

896. Nothing now remained but to complete the overthrow

* The jurisdiction of Andaraz; the valley of Alhaman, containing 2000 vassals (between Malaga and Marbella); and half the produce of some salt mines: the annual return was four millions of maravedis. The following year Abdalla el Zagal, tired, perhaps, of living privately where he had ruled as a king, sold most of these possessions, and retired to Africa.

of the Moorish power by the conquest of Granada. In virtue of the preceding convention, Fernando summoned Abu Abdalla to receive a Castilian garrison. The poor shadow of a king in vain appealed to the magnanimity of his ally, whom he besought to remain satisfied with the rich spoils already acquired. The bare mention of such a proposal would have cost him his head in the then excited state of feeling. The disastrous position of Mohammedan affairs, which they imputed, not without some justice, to his ambition and his subsequent inactivity, roused their wrath so much, that they rose against him, and would doubtless have been satisfied with nothing less than his blood, had he not precipitately fled into the Alhambra. Ere long, however, the violence of the commotion ceased, as every one perceived the necessity of combining to save the capital. Its fate was for a time suspended by the arrival of numerous volunteers from the neighbouring towns, especially from the villages of the Alpujarras, which had not yet acknowledged the Christian sway; and from several other places, which now openly revolted. Abu Abdalla endeavoured to regain the goodwill of his people by vigorously preparing for their defence, and even by making incursions on the new possessions of the Christians. But neither the revolt nor his own efforts were of much avail. The inhabitants of Adra were signally punished for their want of faith; the king was compelled to seek shelter within his walls, from the summit of which he soon perceived the advancing cross of his enemies.*

In the spring of 897 (A. D. 1491), Fernando invested 897.
this great city with 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse. That the siege would be long and bloody was to be expected from the strength of the fortifications, and the fanaticism of the people. Some time, indeed, elapsed before the place could be effectually invested; convoys

* Pulgar, Cronica de los Señores Reyes Catolicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel, p. 300, &c. Zurita, Historia del Rey Hernando el Catolico, tom. ii. Marmol Carvajal, Historia del Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada, tom. i. lib. i. cap. 12. Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. iii. 353—367.

of provisions were frequently received, in spite of Fernando's vigilance; and in the sorties which from time to time took place, the advantage was not always on the side of the assailants. These partial actions so thinned the Christian host, that the king at length forbade them; and to protect his camp against the daring irruptions of the Moors, he surrounded it with thick walls and deep ditches. The enemy now saw that he was resolute in the reduction of the place, however tardy that reduction might prove. In despair at this politic expedient, Muza, the Moorish general, a man of great valour and ability, persuaded his followers to join him in storming the Christian entrenchments. But the Christians did not wait to be stormed: no sooner did they comprehend the purpose of the advancing army, than they left their strong-hold to meet it. The space between the camp and the city walls now became the scene of a fearful struggle, which ended in the utter rout of the Mussulmans. To confine them within their fortifications was not enough for Fernando: he resolved to cut them off from all communication with the mountains whence their sustenance was derived, and patiently await the inevitable effect of famine. Having laid waste several leagues of the country, he placed detachments in all the passes which led to the city. His own soldiers, whether in the camp or in the newly erected city of Santa Fé*, which he built and fortified both as a security against the possible despair of the Moors, and for the greater comfort of his army and court, were abundantly supplied with every necessary. The privations to which they were now subject, caused the besieged inhabitants first to murmur, and next to threaten their imbecile ruler with destruction. In this emergency, Abu Abdalla hastily summoned a council, to hear the sentiments of his chief subjects on the deplorable posture of affairs. All agreed that the camp, the city, and policy of Fernando, were but too indicative of his unalterable determination, and of the fate which

* About two leagues west of Granada.

ultimately, nay soon, awaited them; that the people were worn out by abstinence and fatigue; and that, as the necessity was imperative, an attempt should be made to procure favourable terms of capitulation from the Castilian. The hagib, Abul Cassem, a venerable old man, proceeded to the Christian camp; and on the 22d day of Muharram, 897 *, the following conditions, among others, were agreed on between him and the commissioners of Fernando:—That the city should be surrendered in two months, unless relieved in the interim; that the Moorish king, his wasirs and sheiks, should swear allegiance to the two sovereigns, and that all the inhabitants should transfer their homage from Abu Abdalla to the victors; that Abu Abdalla should be provided with domains and estates sufficient to support him in becoming splendour; that every Mussulman should have entire liberty, and preserve their present property; that they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion, their mosques, their alfaquis †, and even their own laws and judges; that during three years they should be exempted from the contributions towards the support of the state, and that afterwards they should be subject to the same taxes only as they had paid to their own kings; and that they should deliver up five hundred hostages for the faithful performance of these stipulations. ‡ These conditions were laid by Abul Cassem before the council of Abu Abdalla, and were regarded with mournful solemnity. Many of the members were naturally and deeply affected at the prospect before them. Muza advised them rather to perish than to surrender: and seeing his expostulations unavailing, he left the hall of deliberation, took his horse and arms, issued from the gate Elvira, and was heard of no more. After his departure, Abu Abdalla said, "It is not courage that we want, but the means of resistance:

* A. H. 897 opens November 3. 1491: hence November 25.

† "*Fek* et *fekehat*, l'étude et la science de la loi, la jurisprudence; *'akih*, un docteur de la loi, ou, si vous voulez, un jurisconsulte. C'est d'où vient le mot Espagnol *alfaqui*."—*D'Herbelot.*

‡ The conditions may be seen at length in Marmol Carvajal, Historia del Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos, tom. i.

ill fate has shed its baneful influence over the kingdom, and has unnerved us all. What resource is left us? The storm has destroyed all!" The justice of the royal complaint was acknowledged by all except the lowest populace, whose fanaticism would probably have buried the city in ruins, had not the king, with the advice of his sheiks, entreated Fernando to take possession of the city somewhat earlier than had been stipulated — an entreaty to which the Castilian king lent a willing ear.

It was on the fourth day of the moon Rabia I.*, at the dawn of day, that Abu Abdalla sent his family and treasures into the Alpujarras, while he himself, accompanied by fifty horsemen, rode out to meet Fernando, whom he saluted as his liege lord. The keys of the city were delivered to the latter by Abul Cassem: the Christians entered, and their standards were speedily hoisted on the towers of the Alhambra, and all the fortresses in the place. The fourth day following, Fernando and his royal consort made a solemn entry into the city, which they made the seat of an archbishopric, and in which they abode several months. In what manner they observed the conditions of its surrender will be seen in the next section. As for the feeble Abu Abdalla, he had not courage to re-enter it. As he disconsolately took the road to the Alpujarras, and from time to time cast back his weeping eyes on the magnificent towers behind him, his mother, the sultana Zorayda, is said to have observed, "Thy womanly tears for the loss of thy kingdom become one who had not courage to defend it like a man!" He did not long remain in Spain. Like his uncle, he sold his domains, and retired to Africa, where he died in battle, defending the throne

* Which year opens, as before observed, November 3. 1491:—

Muharram	30	—	November		28
Safir	29	—	December		31
Rabia I.	4	—	January		4
	63				63

Hence January 4. 1429.

of his kinsman the king of Fez.* Two princes of the family, Yahia and his son, remained in the Peninsula, where they embraced the Christian religion, and were laden with honours and wealth by their new sovereign.

* "Escarnio y gran ridiculo de la fortuna, que acació la muerte à este rey en defensa de reyno ageno, no habiendo osado morir defendiendo el suyo."— *Marmol Carvajal.* But Abu Abdalla, however criminally ambitious and weak, was no coward.

SECTION II.

CHRISTIAN SPAIN.

718—1516.

CHAP. I.

THE ASTURIAS, LEON, AND CASTILE.

718—1516.

1. *The Asturias and Leon.*

718—1037.

711 to 718. THE more zealous or more independent Christians, who, after the triumphs of Tarik and Musa, were dissatisfied with the submission of Theodomir *, gradually forsook their habitations in the south to seek a more secure asylum amidst the northern mountains of their country. They knew that in the same hills the sacred fire of liberty had been preserved, in defiance of Carthaginian, or Roman, or Goth; and they felt that to them was now confided the duty of reviving its expiring embers. At first, indeed, the number which resorted to these solitudes was few, and actuated by the mere hope of individual safety: but as the Mohammedan excesses became more frequent and intolerable; as neither prompt submission, nor the solemnity of treaties, could guarantee the unhappy natives from plunder, persecution, and de-

* See Vol. I. p. 170.

struction*; and, consequently, as the number of refugees increased, the possibility of a combined defence on a larger scale, and even of laying the foundation of an infant state, was eagerly indulged. The care of the sacred relics, which, on the reduction of Toledo, were carefully conveyed to these mountain fastnesses — the presence not only of prelates, but of nobles descended from the blood of the Goths — that devotion to a good cause, that sense of duty, which adversity never fails to elevate and to confirm — and the necessity of self-preservation,— united these refugees in an indissoluble bond. Well and nobly had they fought for their country and altars on the plain of Xeres; well and nobly, and, as they hoped, with more success, were they determined to fight for their mountain home and their banished faith. But they could do nothing without a head: they proceeded to elect one; and their unanimous suffrages fell on PELAYO, said to be the son of Favila duke of Cantabria†, belonging to the royal house of Chindaswind, to whom they intrusted the defence of all that was dear to them, — their liberty and their religion.‡

At the time this unequivocal demonstration of defiance was made by the Christians, Alhaur, the Mohammedan governor, was in Gaul; but one of his generals, Alxaman, accompanied, as we are informed, by the renegade archbishop Oppas, and obedient to his orders, assembled a considerable force, and hastened into the 718 to 737

* The archbishop Rodrigo draws a worse view of the desolation of Spain than even Isidore of Beja (as before quoted, vol. i. p. 177.): "Children are dashed on the ground, young men beheaded; their fathers fall in battle; the old men massacred, the women reserved for greater misfortune." He tells us, that "*every* cathedral in Spain was burned or destroyed;" that "the national substance, &c. was plundered, except what the bishops could save in the Asturias;" that "the cities which were too strong to be stormed immediately, were deluded into a surrender;" that "oaths and treaties were uniformly broken by the Arabs," &c. Both he and Isidore may exaggerate, but the exaggeration only proves the fact.

† The monk of Albelda (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiii. 450.) calls Pelayo the son of Bermudo, and nephew of king Roderic. His origin is wrapped in much obscurity.

‡ "Tunc Pelagium sibi, filium quondam Favilani Ducis, ex semine regio, principem elegerunt; et arcam cum senatorum pignoribus quam in Asturiis, simul transtulerunt, ei præcipue ad defensionem tradiderunt."— *Sebastianus Salmanticensis.* See Appendix B.

Asturias, to crush the rising insurrection. Arriving at the foot of the Asturian mountains without obstacle, the Arabian general did not hesitate to plunge into the defiles: passing along the valley of Cangas, he came to the foot of Mount Auseva, near the river Sella.* On the heights of Covadunga, and in the cavern of St. Mary, the small but resolute band of Pelayo was concealed, waiting for the attack. Loth to run the risk of one where the advantage of position was so much in favour of the Christians, Alxaman is said to have despatched Oppas to Pelayo, representing to that prince the inutility of resistance, and the advantage of instant submission. The refusal of the Asturian, who well knew his position, and what stout hearts he commanded, was followed by the ascent of the Arabs up the steep acclivity. But their consternation could be equalled only by their surprise when huge rocks and stones came thundering down on their dense ranks, by which they were precipitated into the narrow valley below. The destruction did not end here: it met those who attempted to ascend the opposite acclivity. Thousands were crushed beneath the vast fragments; and the rest would speedily have shared the same fate, had they not precipitately fled by the way they had advanced. The confusion attending this retrograde movement was turned to good account by the Christians, who now issued from their hiding-places, and inflicted a terrific loss on the fugitives. The extent of that loss we should vainly attempt to estimate †; but that it was great may be learned from the very admission of the vanquished ‡, and that it inspired them with

* The grotto of Our Lady of Covadunga is about twelve English miles from the Bay of Biscay.

† "In eodem namque loco centum viginti quatuor millia Caldeorum sunt interfecti," are the words of Sebastian. Ferreras (ii. 454., Hermilly's translation) evidently suspects a gross exaggeration on the part of some transcriber. Most of his countrymen, however, will allow of none. Probably the *centum* has been added; and even then the loss to the Mohammedans would be sufficiently great.

‡ "Eo duce (Alxaman) bellum adversus Christianos susceptum est, sed infausto exitu; quippe is *ingente clade* affectus, fugâ saluti consuluit; ejus vero collega Solimanus ben Schahabus cum maxima exercitus parte occubuit, anno scilicet Egiræ 139, die 2 Rabii posterioris."—*Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica* (apud Casiri, Bibliotheca Arab.-Hisp. ii. 33.). There must be

a terror which rendered them unwilling to resume their incursion into this fatal region, may be inferred from their subsequent inactivity. Alxaman was slain at the head of one division of the Moors; while his colleague Suleyman, who commanded another, shared the same fate. Oppas, too, is said to have been taken prisoner, and justly put to death for his treachery.* This was splendid success; but it was almost equalled by the defeat of Manuza. This chief, who was then governor of a northern city †, hearing of the disastrous defeat of his countrymen, and apprehensive that the enemy would soon be upon him, ordered his troops to retreat; but he was overtaken, defeated, and slain by the Asturian hero. These memorable events fixed the destiny of the infant kingdom: they were the first of a succession of triumphs, which, though sometimes tardy, and often neutralised by accident, ended in the final expulsion of the invaders from the Peninsula. The Asturias were now left in the undisturbed possession of the Christians, nor were the Mohammedans for some years in any disposition to assail their formidable neighbours.‡

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an error in this date, which need not surprise us in an author of the 13th century (Abu Bakir died A. H. 658). See Appendix C.

* We know not why Pellicer and Masdeu should doubt the presence of this apostate in the Asturias, except, indeed, as it opposes their arbitrary chronology.

† Most MSS. have *Gegio*, now Gijon, which lies on the Cantabrian Sea; but there is some difficulty in believing that the Moors penetrated so far northwards. The place, says Sebastian, was in the Asturias; but so was Leon (Legio), in ancient times. What makes the uncertainty still stronger is the fact, that Olalia, where Manuza was overtaken and defeated, may either be the valley of that name, near Oviedo, or a town south of Leon, and not far from Astorga. Possibly, however, it was Gijon. Yet Leon, according to the chronicle of Albelda, had a governor named Manuza, who appears to be the same with Othman ben Abineza; but he was slain, not by the Christians, but by the orders of the emir Abderahman. There must surely have been two of the name, or the Christian chroniclers have irretrievably confounded events, persons, and dates.

‡ We find so much confusion, so much contradiction, sometimes so much improbability, in the obscure authorities for this period, whether Arabic or Christian, that we almost despair of forming a rational connected narrative of the reign of Pelayo. Where authorities are at variance, reason should indeed decide; but it is sometimes impossible to say which hypothesis is most reasonable, or rather least unreasonable. Almost every sentence of the preceding paragraph in the text ought to commence with "probably," "it is said," "it is believed," &c. We will not attempt to fix the exact years when the above victories were won, nor what space of time elapsed between them: it is sufficient that they took place in the reign of Pelayo; viz. between 718 and 737.

The results of these victories were highly favourable to the Christians, who began (in the Asturias) to found towns, to repair such as had suffered, and to cultivate the ground with hope. The remainder of Pelayo's reign is unknown: it was probably passed in peace.* He died in 737, and was buried in the church of St. Eulalia, at Congas de Onis. This hero is entitled to the grateful reverence of posterity. His patriotism, his valour, his religious fervour, must have been unrivalled, or he would scarcely have ventured, with a mere handful of men, to stem the torrent of Mohammedan invasion. Above all, he appears to great advantage when contrasted with Theodomir, who, however amiable in private life, and even courageous in the battle-field, cannot escape our censure for tamely submitting to the hateful and despicable yoke of the Arabs.†

737 to 739. Of FAVILA, the son and successor of Pelayo, nothing is known beyond his brief reign and tragical death. In 739, he was killed by a boar, while hunting in the neighbourhood of the church of the Holy Cross, which he had founded.‡

* Rodrigo of Toledo is the only one who says that Pelayo won other battles; but as he does not tell us when or where, and as none are mentioned by preceding historians, we may safely reject them. The misbelievers had received too good a lesson to resume hostilities, and it is not likely that the Asturians could be strong enough to invade either Leon or Galicia.

† Sebastianus Salmanticensis Chronicon (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiii. 481.). Monachi Albeldensis Chronicon (apud eundem, xiii. 450). Monachi Silensis Chronicon (apud eundem, xvii. 281—284.). Ximenes, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. iv. cap. 2. Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi, lib. iv. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. et iv.). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part iii. cap. 2. Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica (apud Casiri, ii. 33.). Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. tom. i. passim. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Mousa, &c.

‡ "On the spot where Favila was killed, a monastery, called *San Pedro de Villanueva*, was built by Alfonso I. On the door of the church belonging to this monastery is a rude representation of the last scenes of Favila's life. In one part there is a horseman in mail, with a helmet on his head and a hunting spear in his hand, and a lady endeavouring to detain him. In another part, finding that he was not to be detained, she is kissing him, as if to bid him adieu. In a third, there is the horseman with his sword run through the body of a boar; and at the same time the animal is grasping the shield with its fore feet, and with open mouth aiming at him. Representations nearly similar, though not of equal antiquity, are to be found sculptured in other churches of the Asturias and of Navarre."—*Sandoval, Notes to the Historias de los Cinco Obispos*, p. 95.

As the ministry and church were erected by the immediate successor

ALFONSO I., surnamed the *Catholic*, a son-in-law of Pelayo, descended, we are told, from Leovigild, was the next prince on whom the suffrages of the Asturians fell: not that Favila left no children; but they were doubtless of tender age, and therefore unfitted for bearing so heavy a burden as the duties of monarchy in times so critical.* Besides, among these rude mountaineers, hereditary right seems to have been as much unknown as among their Gothic fathers; the crown, however, was always confined to the same family, and the election was generally sure to fall on the next prince in succession, provided he was not disqualified for the dignity either by age, or impotence of body or of mind.† 739 to 757.

Though no record remains of Alfonso's battles with the Arabs, it is certain that he must have been victor in several; for he made ample additions to his territories. Lugo, Orense, and Tuy, in Galicia; Braga, Oporto, Viseo, and Chaves, in Lusitania; Leon, Astorga, Simancas, Zamora, Salamanca, and Ledesma, in the kingdom of Leon; Avila, Sepulveda, Segovia, Osma, Coruña del Conde, Lara, and Saldaña in Castile; — these, and many other places of less note, were reduced by him. It appears, however, that he acted with cruelty towards the Mohammedan inhabitants, whom he exterminated to make room for his Christian colonists. ‡ Such cruelty, indeed, was just retribution on the heads of the followers of a sanguinary faith; but posterity must grieve to see the laurels of the hero stained with blood unneces-

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of Favila, at the entreaty of the princess Hermesinda, daughter of Pelayo, and wife of Alfonso I., it may be admitted as conveying a correct account of that prince's untimely end. — See *Morales, Coronica General*, tom. iv. fol. 15, 16.

* "A la verdad, en las circumstancias en que se hallaba aquel reyno, la corona real tenia mas espinas que diamantes."— *Ortiz*, iii. 17.

† Mariana says, that Alfonso inherited in virtue of Pelayo's will. This is one of the assertions so common in this writer, without the shadow of a foundation. Equally unfounded is the assertion that he inherited in right of his wife, Hermesinda, though that circumstance would doubtless have some weight with the electors. His best claim was, that "in tempore Egicani et Witizani regum, princeps militiæ fuit."— *Sebastian.*

‡ "*Omnes* quoque Arabes occupatores supradictarum civitatum *interficiens.*"— *Ibid.*

sarily shed. Biscay, too, and Navarre, obeyed Alfonso; so that his kingdom extended from the western shores of Galicia into Aragon, and from the Cantabrian sea to the southern boundary of the Tierra de Campos; that is, over about one fourth of all Spain. To account for the rapidity and extent of these conquests —conquests, however, which for the most part were frequently lost and regained in succeeding wars, and few of which he himself retained—the reader has only to remember the civil dissensions of Mohammedan Spain some years prior to the accession of the caliph Abderahman.

But Alfonso was not merely a conqueror: the colonies which he established, the towns which he founded or restored, the churches which he built or repaired, are justly adduced as signal monuments of his patriotism and religious zeal. Hence the appellation of *Catholic* —an appellation which continues at the present day to distinguish his successors. His end, which happened in 757, corresponded with his life.*

757 to 763. Fruela I., the eldest son of Alfonso, is represented as stern in disposition, as cruel in his habits, and valiant in war. Of his valour, however, so far are the Arabian writers from making mention, that they represent him as the tributary of their king Abderahman.† On the contrary, the early Christian chroniclers speak of a battle in which 54,000 of the Mohammedans fell; the

* That a man who "sine offensione erga Deum et ecclesiam vitam merito mirabilem duxit," should depart this world with hope, may be readily supposed; but we are required to believe that at the moment of departure a choir of angels announced his approaching glory: "Nec hoc stupendum miraculum," says a chronicler, "prætermittendum est, quod horâ discessionis ejus *certissimè* actum est. Nam cum spiritum emisisset in tempestæ noctis silentio, et cum servi pallatini diligentissime corpus illius observassent, subito in aëra auditur à cunctis excubantibus vox angelorum psallentium, *Ecce quomodo tollitur justus, et nemo considerat; et viri justi tolluntur, et nemo percipit corde: et facie iniquitatis sublatus est justus, et erit in pace sepultura ejus.* (Isaiah, chap. lvii.) And as if afraid that there would be people heretical enough to demur at assenting to the prodigy, he adds:—"Hoc verum esse prorsus cognoscite, nec fabulosum dictum putetis: alioquin tacere magis eligerem quàm falsa promere maluissem." Not a single historian of Spain, from bishop Sebastian to Masdeu and Ortiz, has ventured to express his disbelief of the miracle!

† See Vol. I. page 258.

general, Omar, son of Abderahman, being, say they, among the prisoners, was put to death by the victor. As no mention is made of such a son by Mohammedan writers, nor of any battle between the armies of the two princes, and as the powerful Abderahman was not likely to leave unavenged so heavy a calamity, doubts may reasonably be entertained of the alleged fact.

The harsh character of Fruela, joined perhaps to the natural inconstancy of man, led to a revolt in Galicia and Biscay*; but he succeeded in repressing both, and he inflicted a heavy punishment on the rebels. The man, indeed, who with his own hands shed the blood of an innocent brother, was not likely to spare guilty subjects. But in the end, finding his yoke intolerable, or perhaps resolved no longer to obey a fratricide, his people rose and slew him, after a reign of somewhat more than eleven years, in A.D. 768. He was buried in the rising city of Oviedo, in which he had founded a church in honour of our Saviour, and which he is believed to have had some share in amplifying.†

Of AURELIO, the cousin‡ and successor of Fruela, nothing is known, but that, according to the Christian writers, he lived in peace with the Moors; and that, after a struggle, he reduced to obedience the slaves and freedmen who had revolted against their lords. But the Mohammedans will not allow that he thus remained unmolested by their great king Abderahman. They assert, that, on his endeavouring to evade the tribute covenanted with Fruela, he was at least twice defeated by two Arabian generals, and that he esteemed himself fortunate in being able to procure peace on the same condition of vassalage. Though for reasons before

768 to 774.

* In the latter of these places he made captive a beautiful lady, whom he afterwards married, and by whom he had a son, Alfonso the Chaste.

† Authorities the same as those last quoted. Fruela is praised by modern historians of Spain, from Rodrigo of Toledo to Mariana, for enforcing clerical celibacy, and thereby repairing the ruinous laxity of Witiza's law. In vain should we seek a foundation for such a statement in authors nearest to the times.

‡ Nephew of Alfonso I.

assigned*, doubts may well be entertained of the genuineness of this treaty, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that in the infancy of their power the Asturian kings might be sometimes constrained to pay tribute to those of Cordova, but for their possessions in *Leon and Galicia* only. These lay constantly open to the irruptions of the Moslems, while the *Asturias* were protected by their natural strength. Hence, the writers of both nations may be right,—the Mohammedans in asserting that tribute was once paid to their kings, and the Christians in vindicating their ancient independence; the king might be as free in the Asturias as he was fettered in his southern and western provinces—

774 to 783. As little is known of SILO, son-in-law of Alfonso I., and brother of Aurelio, who was elected king in 774. That he continued at peace with the Arabs is certain, but on what terms is doubtful; the dark expression in the monk of Albelda, that Spain enjoyed peace with the Moors through his mother (*Spania ab causam matris pacem habuit*), would lead us to infer that there was some closer relation between the royal families of the two nations than is generally supposed. In his reign, as in that of Fruela, the Galicians revolted, and were reduced to obedience. But the most memorable event of this period is the arrival of Charlemagne, whose invasion, dubious alike in its pretensions and result, has been sufficiently exposed on a former occasion. Silo died in 783.†

783 to 788. MAUREGATO, the bastard son of Alfonso I., who usurped the crown to the prejudice of his nephew Alfonso, son of Fruela, would also descend almost unno-

* See Vol. I. page 258.

† Sebastianus Salmanticensis, necnon Monachi Albeldensis Chronica (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiii. 483—451.). Rodericus Toletanus, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. iv.; et Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi, lib. iv. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. et iv.). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part iii. cap. 6. Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. tom. i. (reign of Abderahman).

Sebastian tells us, that this king went to Merida, and forcibly brought away the remains of St. Eulalia, which he placed in his newly erected church of St. John the Evangelist at Pravia. For the monasteries founded in the same reign, the reader may see Yepes, Cronica General de San Benito, tom. iii.; and Sandoval, Cinco Obispos (notes).

ticed to posterity, were it not for the famous tribute ascribed to him. Despairing of a successful opposition to the party of the young prince, he is said to have triumphed by the aid of Abderahman; and that either through gratitude, or in compliance with the demand of his ally he agreed to pay thenceforth an annual tribute —not of money, or horses, or arms, but — of a hundred damsels (all to be distinguished for beauty) to ornament the harems of the misbelievers. His memory, however, does not deserve to be charged with so odious a stain; first, because no mention whatever is made of such a tribute by the Mohammedan writers, nor by the Christian prior to Rodrigo of Toledo*; and next, because it would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, to furnish that number annually of *beautiful* maidens from dominions so bounded and so thinly peopled as those which obeyed the early Asturian kings.† Probably, however, as we collect from an author contemporary with Rodrigo, don Lucas of Tuy, the two sovereigns might agree to encourage marriages between their respective subjects; a policy which Abderahman is known to have followed. But in either case, the usurper would well deserve the ill repute in which his name is mentioned by posterity.‡

On the death of Mauregato, in 788, BERMUDO I. was elected to the throne. The nobles who were known to have been concerned in the murder of Fruela, were naturally desirous to exclude Alfonso, in the apprehension that he would seek to revenge that deed of darkness. Bermudo, too, the nephew of Alfonso the Catholic, was the only remaining prince of the race of Recared; and though in holy orders, and averse to the regal office, it was not only forced on him, but he was in a manner constrained to marry. He did not long exercise it: whether through disgust with the dignity, or through a conviction that it

788 to 791

* "The tribute of the hundred virgins is neither inconsistent with Mohammedan manners, nor in itself improbable."—*Southey's Cid*, p. 377. Granted; but history must look to authority, in preference to probability without it.

† The Asturian women are very ugly.

‡ There is a pun on the occasion of his burial at Pravia, where he always held his court: "Como fue pravo (wicked), en Pravia fue sepultado." —*Ferreras.*

would be better filled by his nephew, or, more probably, from conscientious scruples, he resolved to separate from his wife, and to abdicate in favour of that prince. He had little difficulty in persuading his nobles to acknowledge Alfonso; as the mild disposition of the latter seemed to them a sufficient guarantee that revenge would be sacrificed to policy.*

791 to 842. ALFONSO II., better known as *Alfonso the Chaste*, began to reign in 791. That he was not unworthy the partiality of his uncle, or the affection of his people, appears both from the victories he obtained over the Mohammedans †, and from his patriotic rule. Yet he was doomed to experience the ordinary ingratitude of men; for, not long after his accession, he was forcibly seized, and confined in a monastery, not by a small party, but by a formidable army of rebels. That confinement, however, appears to have been of short duration; some of his faithful vassals hastened to his retreat, and brought him in triumph to Oviedo, where he established his court. That city, which now became the capital of his kingdom, he enlarged and embellished: many of the edifices erected by him were distinguished for equal magnificence and extent. The church of San Salvador, in particular, which occupied thirty years in building, is a well known and justly admired monument of his taste and religious zeal.

Though the reign of Alfonso exceeded fifty years in duration, it contains very little to strike the attention, if we except his wars with the Mohammedans. This surname of the *Chaste* has procured him great veneration; so much, indeed, that his want of canonisation seems to have surprised not a few of his countrymen. Whether his continence arose from mistaken piety or from natural causes, is not worth the trouble of enquiring.‡

* Bermudo is said by the monk of Albelda to have been at war with the Arabs; but as this is the only Christian authority for the statement, and as no mention of such a war is made by the Mohammedans themselves, it may be regarded as at least doubtful.

† See Vol. I. p. 261.

‡ By Lucas Tudensis the king is said to have been betrothed, if not married, to a French princess; but he never even saw her.

The national writers, however, from Rodrigo of Toledo downwards, agree that his sister Ximena had not received the same gift; that she clandestinely married with Sancho, count of Saldaña; and that the issue of this marriage was the famous Bernardo del Carpio, whose exploits form so prominent a portion of fabulous history. Not only those exploits, but this hero himself, and his two parents, are creations of the imagination.*

In 842, RAMIRO I., son of king Bermudo the Deacon, was elected successor to Alfonso. As at the time of his election the prince happened to be absent on a matrimonial excursion, one Nepotiano, an Asturian count, and a kinsman of the deceased king, aspired to the crown. Ramiro hastened to vindicate his right; his competitor also collected followers; a battle ensued, to the favour of the rightful sovereign; Nepotiano fled, was overtaken, deprived of his eyes, and shut up in a monastery. This was not the only rebel who troubled the repose of Ramiro. A few years after his accession, Aldrete, a count of the palace, formed a dangerous conspiracy against him; but a seasonable discovery of the plot enabled him to dissipate it, and to consign the former to the same dark solitude as Nepotiano. 842 to 850.

This king was no less successful against his foreign than his domestic enemies. The Scandinavian vikingur, after ravaging the coasts of France, appeared before Gijon, in the Asturias; but finding the place too well defended to be assailed with impunity, they proceeded round the coast to Coruña. There they landed, and committed their usual atrocities, until the Asturian king hastened to oppose them. Being defeated by him, and seventy of their vessels burnt, they proceeded onwards, doubled Cape St. Vincent, and, as already related, inflicted heavy mischief on the Mohammedan possessions of the south.* By Sebastian of

* See Appendix D.

Salamanca, he is said to have been twice victorious also over the Saracens,— a circumstance, however, of which not the slightest intimation is given by the Mohammedan writers. One of these, the famous victory of Clavijo, is notoriously fabulous.*

850 to 866. Ordoño I., son of the deceased king, ascended the Asturian throne at an early age. One of his first objects was to fortify his frontier places against the incursions of the Mohammedans, and to repeople such as had lain waste since the time of Alfonso I. Leon, Amaya, Astorga, and Tuy were among the number. In his frequent contests with the enemy, he was almost uniformly successful. For most of his successes he was, doubtless, indebted to the dissensions of Muza and Omar, who rebelled against the king of Cordova, and obtained possession of Saragossa, Huesca, Tudela, and even Toledo. Not satisfied with defeating the forces of his lawful sovereign, Muza turned his arms against Ordoño. Near Albelda the rebel was signally defeated by the Christian king; the greater part of his army was destroyed; his treasures were lost; his son-in-law fell before his eyes; and he himself, almost dead of his wounds, had great difficulty in escaping. Albelda, too, which Muza had fortified, was speedily reduced. No sooner was his defeat known at Toledo, than his son, the governor of that important place, declared himself the vassal of the Asturian. Ordoño, at the close of his reign, was undisturbed master of the whole country, from the Bay of Biscay to Salamanca.

Under Ordoño the Normans again landed on the Galician coast; but being defeated by count Pedro, governor of the province, they proceeded to the more fertile towns of Andalusia: their devastations have been already recorded.†

866 to 872. Alfonso III., the eldest son of the deceased Ordoño, ascended the throne in 866. The beginning of his

* Authorities: the Chronicles in Florez, Roderic of Toledo, Lucas of Tuy, and Alonso el Sabio. For this celebrated fable, see Appendix E.

† See Vol. I. p. 270.

reign, like that of some of his predecessors, was troubled through the curse of an elective government. His kingdom was invaded, and his throne was seized by a count of Galicia; and he was even compelled to flee into Alava. By the senate of Oviedo, however, the usurper was assassinated, and the rightful monarch triumphantly escorted to his capital. With equal success did he crush the rebellion of a count of Alava, who stimulated the people of that province to revolt. He was no less fortunate in escaping from the assassin's dagger, which even within the precincts of his palace was whetted to drink his blood: the discovery and death of the conspirators struck a salutary fear into the other factions.

During the late reigns, the people of Navarre had been among the most frequent to revolt: they were in all cases instigated by the Franks, who constantly aspired to a permanent settlement south of the Pyrenees, and who were anxious to repair the ill success of their arms under their great emperor and his descendants. Since the time Charlemagne had heroically destroyed the fortifications of Christian Pampeluna, the Carlovingian race had regarded the whole of Navarre as their rightful heritage, and laboured, often with success, to procure the homage of the local governors. To chastise both count and people was a constant task for the Asturian kings; but Alfonso, finding that these domestic contests distracted his attention from the war with the Mohammedans, adopted an expedient which he hoped would both tranquillise the people and preserve his dominion over them. On the Frank count of Bigorre, Sancho Iñigo, 873.
who had estates on both sides the Pyrenees, and who, as the creature of France, had distinguished himself both in stimulating the inhabitants to revolt, and in the wars which ensued in consequence — who, besides, was exceedingly popular in that province — in 873 he either conferred Navarre, or consented that it should be held, as an hereditary fief, dependent — whether on

the crown of the Asturias, or on that of France, has been much disputed.* He hoped, we are told, that the new sovereign would prove a bulwark against the aggressions, both of France on the one side, and of the Arabs on the other. To strengthen the connection between himself and the new count, he demanded the hand of the princess Sumena, who was related both to Sancho Iñigo and the French king. That he was deceived in his hope will surprise no one. Admitting that the count was his vassal, he must indeed have been short-sighted, not to perceive that the foreigner would throw off the yoke on the first favourable opportunity; and that, aided by the French court, the rebel might safely defy the Asturian kings.

870 to 901. But Alfonso's victories over the Mohammedans almost atoned for his imprudent policy with regard to Navarre, — if, indeed, that policy was not the compulsory result of circumstances. To those victories allusion has been already made; and it is here only necessary to add, that he removed the boundary of his dominions from the Duero to the Guadiana, and that the territories thus acquired were possessed by his successors above a century, until the time of the great Almansor. From 870 to 901, his contests with the enemy,— whether with the kings of Cordova or their rebellious vassals, who aimed at independence, were one continued series of successes. His last exploit at this period was the destruction, in the battle of Zamora, of a formidable army, led by the rebel Calib of Toledo, whose ally, Abul Cassem, fell on the field.

907 to 910. But this great prince, if glorious in his contests with the natural enemy, was unable to contend with his rebellious barons, headed by his still more rebellious son Garcia. Aided by his father-in-law, Nuño Fernandez, one of the counts of Castile; by his brother Ordoño, the governor of Galicia; by many other

* The origin of the sovereignty of Navarre is one of the most disputed points in the history of Spain. It shall be examined more at length when we come to the particular history of that kingdom.

nobles; and even, as we are told, by his own mother; the prince formed the unnatural design of dethroning his aged father. He was, however, seized by a detachment of the royal troops, and consigned to a fortress, where he was forced to remain three years. In vain did the count Nuño and his guilty accomplices endeavour to procure the rebel's enlargement by artful appeals to the pity of the indignant monarch, and by interesting the queen in the same cause: Alfonso showed a proper firmness in supporting his own rights and the public tranquillity. Seeing that entreaty was of no avail, the disaffected, at length, had recourse to a more effectual expedient. By representing the prince as treated with great rigour in his confinement, and the father as an implacable tyrant, whose indignation against his son should long since have ceased, they easily prevailed on the multitude to arm in defence of their future sovereign. At the prospect of a civil war, the king no longer wished to uphold his just rights. Having convoked an assembly at Bordes, in the Asturias, in 910, he solemnly renounced the crown in favour of don Garcia, who passed at once from a prison to a throne. To his second son, Ordoño, he granted the government of Galicia; and another, Fruela, he confirmed in that of Oviedo. These concessions were, doubtless, extorted from him,—a fact that does not speak much for the firmness of his domestic administration: he appears, like many other princes of his country, to have been great chiefly in the field of battle.

Alfonso did not long survive his abdication. Having 910.
paid a visit to the shrine of Santiago in Galicia, on his return to Astorga, he solicited permission and adequate forces from his son to make a final irruption into the Mohammedan territories. Both were granted; and in laying waste the possessions of the enemy, he had the consolation of reflecting, that he had done great service to the church, and left another signal remembrance of his valour, before his departure. He died at Zamora,

at the close of the year 910; leaving behind him the reputation of one of the most valiant, magnanimous, and pious sovereigns that Spain ever produced.*

910 to 914. Of GARCIA, the successor of Alfonso III., little more is known than that he transferred the seat of sovereignty from Oviedo to Leon; made a successful irruption into the territories of the misbelievers; and died in 914. The nobles and bishops of the kingdom — henceforth called the kingdom of Leon — having met, according to custom, for the purpose of nominating a successor, placed the royal crown on the head of Ordoño, brother of the deceased Garcia.

914 to 921. ORDOÑO II., under the reigns both of his father and brother, had distinguished himself against the Mohammedans; and he resolved that no one should say his head was weakened by a crown.† In 917 he advanced towards the Guadiana, stormed the town of Alhange, which is above Merida, put the garrison to the sword, made the women and children captives, and gained abundant spoil. The inhabitants of Merida‡ were so terrified with the fate of their neighbours, that they hastened to the camp of the victor, and by entreaties, still more by rich presents, prevailed on him to spare that city. With the wealth thus acquired he founded the magnificent cathedral of Leon. In a subsequent expedition he ruined Talavera, and defeated a Mohammedan army

* Sebastianus Salmanticensis, necnon Sampirus Astoricensis, Historiæ (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiii. 487, &c. et xiv. 438, &c.). Monachi Silensis, necnon Monachi Albeldensis Chronica (apud eundem, xvii. 290, &c. et xiii. 454, &c.). Rodericus Toletanus, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. iv. cap. 15—20. Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi, lib. iv. p. 79, &c. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. et iv.). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part ii. cap. 12, &c. Marca, Limes Hispanicus, lib. iii. cap. 17, &c. Favyn, Histoire de Navarre, liv. ii. p. 53, &c. Moret, Anales de Navarra, tom. i. lib. 7. et 8. Masdeu, Historia Civil de la España Arabe, xii. 143—184. Also the Fragments of Casiri, passim; and Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. i. 341, &c.

† "Do you think my head weakened by wearing a crown?"—*Sobieski to his soldiers.*

‡ The modern histories of Spain say, that at the same time Badajoz also sent its deputies to the camp of Ordoño. This is a strange interpretation of the passage in the Chronicle of Silos:—"Cui (Ordoneo) omnes Emeritenses *cum rege eorum Badalioz*, civitate obviam exierunt." The error was exposed by Masdeu in 1793; yet, in 1796, Ortiz, who appears to have compiled a history of his country without so much as consulting that critical writer, records it for the twentieth time. Such carelessness is inexcusable.

near its walls. Indignant at these disasters, Abderahman III. assembled a powerful army, not only from all parts of Mohammedan Spain, but from Africa; but this immense host was also defeated, under the walls of San Pedro de Gormaz. In a subsequent battle, however, which appears to have been fought the same year in Galicia, victory declared for neither party. Nearly three years afterwards (in 921), Ordoño was entirely defeated in the battle of Val de Junquera, whither he had advanced to aid the king of Navarre, and where two of his prelates (Dulcidio of Salamanca, and Hermogio of Tuy,) were made prisoners. He took his revenge for this disaster by an irruption into Andalusia, which he laid waste from the Navas de Tolosa to within a day's journey of Cordova.*

Soon after his return to Leon, the king committed a rigorous but treacherous act of justice. Four counts of Castile, whom he suspected of disaffection, and who, by their criminal inactivity, had led to the disgrace at Val de Junquera, he invited, under some specious pretext, to appear before him at Burgos. They refused: he returned to Leon, and collected troops to chastise their disobedience; but, instead of marching against them, he repeated his summons. Alarmed at his preparations, they reluctantly obeyed, and repaired to his palace on the banks of the Carrion, near Tejares. On their arrival they were seized, were forwarded to the prisons of Leon, and, probably in violation of his royal word, in a few days were put to death.† The news of this tragic event armed the inhabitants of Najera and Ve-

921 to 923.

* In the history of Mohammedan Spain (sect. i. chap. 1.), we have scarcely mentioned the wars of Ordoño with the king of Cordova; not finding any account of them in the Fragments of Casiri. They are, however, so explicitly and positively related by the bishop of Astorga and the monk of Silos,—the former almost contemporary,—that we cannot hesitate to receive them, especially as they are confirmed by the epitaph of this king (preserved in Risco, España Sagrada, xxxiv. 481.). The Arabian writers seem to have confounded the events of Ordoño's reign with those of Ramiro II.

† Most historians, from Rodrigo of Toledo downwards, have represented these counts as *murdered*,—as put to death without the shadow of justice: "*Erunt ei rebelles*"—the very words of Sampiro—convey a very different meaning.

caria, both dependent on the four counts, or allied with them, against the king; but they were soon compelled to surrender at discretion.

Ordoño did not long survive the triumph over his rebellious subjects. He died in 923, immediately after his third marriage with a princess of Navarre.

923 to 925. Fruela II., brother of Ordoño, was elected in preference to the children of the deceased king — probably because they were too young to be intrusted with the cares of government. Of him we know little more than that he died after a reign of fourteen months; and that his premature death was considered by the chroniclers as a righteous punishment for his banishing, without cause, the bishop of Leon, and persecuting, with fatal malignity, two innocent brothers of that prelate. The cause of his enmity was the zeal which these persons had shown in favour of Alfonso, the eldest son of Ordoño.

925 to 930. Alfonso IV., who succeeded, in 925, in preference to the sons of Fruela II., is represented as a prince more addicted to piety than to ambition. In the sixth year of his reign, he renounced the vanities of the world, resigned the sceptre into the hands of his brother Ramiro, and retired into the monastery of Sahagun. The following year, however, he forsook his cell, and, with a considerable force, hastened to Leon to reclaim the throne. He was there invested by his brother, who compelled him to surrender, and who again consigned him to his monastery, with three princes (the sons of Fruela II.) his counsellors. In accordance with the laws of the Wisigoths, the punishment of death was commuted to all four by the loss of their eyes. Alfonso survived his misfortune about two years and a half.

930 to 950. Ramiro II., who ascended the throne in 930, is chiefly distinguished for his wars with the misbelievers, — wars which have been already noticed as far as they could be discriminated amidst the conflicting accounts of the two nations. One of his victories, that of Simancas,

fought in 939, seems, in many of its circumstances, to be the same as the one gained at Clavijo by Ramiro I.: the two have, beyond all doubt, been confounded; and it is no less undoubted, that the circumstances are a pure creation of the chroniclers. That Ramiro II. gained a considerable advantage over Abderahman III. on this occasion at Simancas, cannot reasonably be denied, since it rests on the testimony, however exaggerated, of the bishop of Astorga, who might have conversed with individuals actually present. Common report, which magnifies every thing, and tradition, which is fond of the miraculous, easily confounded the exploits of the two Ramiros, and invested them with the wonderful veil that—fortunately for the honour of Santiago and the interests of his church of Compostella—now covers them.*

Like most of his predecessors, Ramiro had also to struggle with internal discord. The dependent count of Castile, Fernan Gonsalez, and one Diego Nunez, a count also in the same province, for reasons with which history (however communicative romance may be) does not acquaint us, revolted against him. There is reason to infer that they had no wish to escape from the homage which they owed to their liege lord, but that they were averse to another campaign against the Mohammedans, from a conviction that the country, after its past exertions, required rest. However this be, the incensed king marched against them, seized their persons, and confined them in two separate fortresses. His displeasure was not of long duration: he suffered the counts to resume their offices on their taking the usual oaths of obedience; and he even married his eldest son, Ordoño, to Urraca, daughter of Fernan Gonsalez. To that son, on the vigil of the Epiphany, in the year 950, he resigned the crown: his growing illness convinced him that he had not long to live; he

* See the reign of Abderahman III. in Vol. I.; and Appendix E. to the present volume.

therefore assumed the penitential garb, and passed his few remaining days in religious retirement.*

950 to 955. Ordoño III. had scarcely ascended the throne before he was troubled by the ambitious projects of his younger brother, don Sancho. That prince, wishing to share the sweets of power, modestly requested that the government of one or two provinces might be confided to him; and on the refusal of the king†, he persuaded Garcia of Navarre, and the count of Castile, to espouse his interests. That Fernan Gonsalez, the father-in-law of the rightful sovereign, whose forfeited life had been spared by the generosity of that sovereign's father, should thus conspire against Ordoño, proves the infamy of his character: neither gratitude nor oaths had any influence over this unprincipled governor. But on this occasion treason and perjury met with deserved failure: Sancho and the count, at the head of the Castilians and the Navarrese, in vain invaded the territories of Leon; they found Ordoño so well prepared to receive them, that they retreated without risking a single battle. Incensed at this conduct of his vassal, the king repudiated his wife Urraca, and immediately married Elvira, a lady connected with the chief families of Leon.‡ Fernan Gonsalez was now compelled to bow the knee before him. With equal success did he triumph over the Galicians, who, for reasons which the meagre chro-

* Sampirus Astoricencis, p. 448., necnon Chronicon Lusitanum, p. 473. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xiv.). Chronicon Silense, p. 303, &c. (apud eundem, xvii.). Chronicon Burgense, p. 308. (apud eundem, xxiii.). Annales Complutenses (in eodem, p. 311.). Annales Compostellani (in eodem, p. 318.). Chronicon Compostellanum (in eodem, p. 326.). Ximenes, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, necnon Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi (apud Schottum, ubi suprà). Alonso el Sabio, Chronicon de España, part ii. cap. 15, &c.; with many others.

† The contemporary bishop Sampiro assigns no reason for Sancho's rebellion; and though later historians ought not to have much weight where preceding ones are silent, probability strongly supports the former in the case before us.

‡ Was there no prelate at hand bold enough to prevent this act of bigamy? The church seems to have allowed extraordinary indulgence to the kings of Leon. Masdeu appears inclined to doubt the second marriage, as resting on authority comparatively modern, — from archbishop Rodrigo downwards. The passage containing it, however, is in most MSS. of Sampiro, who wrote about 982.

niclers of the time never dream of communicating, openly rebelled. He died in 955.

SANCHO I., surnamed from his corpulency the *Fat*, now arrived at the summit of his ambition. But by the retributive justice of Heaven he was doomed to bear, and in a still heavier degree, the burden of anxiety which he had laid on his brother and predecessor. Aided by the restless count of Castile, whose daughter, the divorced Urraca, he had married, Ordoño, son of Alfonso IV., aspired to the throne. Despairing of success by open arms, the two rebels artfully seduced the troops of Sancho from their allegiance, and persuaded them to join the intruder. This unexpected event deprived the king of the means of resistance, compelled him to flee secretly for his life, and raised Ordoño to a precarious dignity. 955 to 967.

The exiled Sancho sought the aid of his maternal uncle, the king of Navarre. But instead of an army to regain his rightful possessions, he received the consoling admonition that he ought to submit with patience to the dispensations of Heaven ; and that if he could not regain his kingdom, he might at least rid himself of his excessive corpulency, with which he appears to have been seriously inconvenienced. As no Christian leech could be found skilful enough to effect the change, and as the physicians of Cordova were renowned over all Europe, he wrote to Abderahman III. for permission to visit that capital. It was readily granted: Sancho was courteously received and magnificently entertained by the caliph ; by the juice of certain herbs, in a short time he was effectually rid of his cumbrous mass of flesh, and restored to his former lightness and agility.*

But this was not the only advantage which Sancho derived from his residence in the court of the caliph. He so won the favour of Abderahman and the Moslem chiefs, that they wished to restore him. At the head of his new

* " Ipsi Agareni herbam attulerunt, et crassitudinem ejus abstulerunt à ventre ejus, et ad pristinam levitatis astutiam reductus," &c. — *Sampiro.* It is a pity the Mohammedan doctors — non inconsultè loquor — did not leave the prescription behind them.

allies the king returned to Leon, and was every where received with open arms. The tyranny of the intruder had rendered him obnoxious, his cowardice made him contemptible, to the people. Instead of striking a decisive blow for empire, he fled into the Asturias as the successes of Sancho increased. But even the Asturias did not long afford him a safe asylum, and he fled to Burgos, the residence of his father-in-law. As fortune had deserted him, so also did his nearest friends. With the view of disarming the just resentment of Sancho, the count of Castile not only abandoned the fugitive Ordoño, but deprived him of his wife and children; and the citizens refused to admit him within the gates. In utter hopelessness of aid from any of his former subjects, he retired into the Mohammedan territories, where he ended his days in misery.* The restored king did not long survive his good fortune. In an expedition against Gonsalo Sanchez, count of Galicia, who aspired to render that government independent of Leon, he was poisoned under the mask of hospitality by that perfidious rebel, after a troubled reign of twelve years.†

967 to 982. As RAMIRO III. was only five years of age on the death of his father, his education fell to the care of his aunt doña Elvira, abbess of the convent of San Salvador, who also appears to have been regent of the kingdom. His minority offers little that is interesting, if we except a predatory irruption of the Normans, who, early in 968,

* "Ordonius vivens inter Sarracenos mansit, et *elulando pœnas persolvit*," says Sampiro, with his usual obscurity.

† One of the last acts of Sancho was to procure from Alhakem, the successor of Abderahman, the remains of the martyr Pelayo, who suffered in the persecution at Cordova. Pelayo will be more particularly mentioned in the proper place—the concluding chapter of the present book.

Sancho, if the Chronicle of Iria is to be believed, had the misfortune to be consigned to purgatory. "One Sunday," says the legend, "as the queen Teresa was in prayer, her deceased husband appeared to her, surrounded with flames, and exhorted her to continue her prayers and good works. Uneasy at his fate, she presented one of the priests with a surplice, charging the ecclesiastic to pray for his soul. Not long afterwards, Sancho appeared to her a second time, clad in the identical surplice, and thanked her for her zeal. As she tried to embrace him, he vanished; but left in her hand a piece of the surplice; and on inspecting the garment it was found wanting." Who, after this, it is triumphantly asked, can doubt of the efficacy of almsgiving for the dead? The priest was no bungler.

one year after his accession, landed in Galicia, advanced towards Compostella, defeated and slew Sismondo bishop of that see, laid waste the whole of that province, with a considerable portion of Leon, and during two successive years committed their usual depredations, with, as appears, perfect impunity. That such indifference or cowardice should so long be shown by the natives of Galicia, and that the warlike nobles of the kingdom should not have hastened to drive their piratical invaders into the sea, may well surprise us. But in Galicia, as in Normandy, where the famous Rollo had founded a new sovereignty, these sons of the deep inspired a fear which paralysed every exertion, and sought for safety only in a base flight. At length the count of the province, having assembled a considerable force, almost exterminated these daring pirates, with their leader Gundered; released the captives, recovered their lost substance, and destroyed the whole fleet, consisting of one hundred vessels.*

As Ramiro grew in years, the qualities which he exhibited augured any thing but good to his people. Rash, presumptuous, self-sufficient, and haughty in his behaviour to his wisest counsellors, he became so odious to the nation, that the counts of Castile, Leon, and Galicia threw off their allegiance to him, and proclaimed in Compostella prince Bermudo, grandson of Fruela II. Ramiro immediately assembled an army, and marched against his rival, whom he encountered near Monterroso in Galicia, in 982. The contest, though long and bloody, was indecisive; so that both kings, afraid of renewing it, retired to their respective courts—Ramiro to Leon, and Bermudo to Santiago. The calamities arising from this civil strife were increased by the hostile inroads of Almansor, the celebrated hagib of Hixem II.†, who now began a career of unrivalled military splendour, and who was destined to prove the most formidable enemy the

* We must again refer the reader to Depping's interesting work, Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands, for an account of the manners, habits, and exploits of this strange people,—a people little understood by most readers.

† See the exploits of this warrior, Vol. I. p. 293.

Christians had experienced since the time of Tarik and Muza. Fortunately, however, for the distracted state, Ramiro did not long survive his return to Leon: his death again consolidated the regal power.

In the reign of this prince (in 970) died the famous Fernan Gonsalez, count of Castile, whose fruitless efforts after independence have been already noticed. His fame arises not so much from the real as from the romantic exploits with which the fertility of fiction has invested him. Yet, improbable and even fabulous as are most of them, they have been received as indubitable by most native historians, from Alonso the Learned downwards. That he was a native of Burgos; that, by his marriage with the princess Urraca, whom romance calls Sancha, he was brother-in-law to don Garcia the Trembler, king of Navarre; that he was the founder of the sovereignty of Castile, rendering the fief, which had before been reversible, hereditary in his family; and that he acted a most distinguished part in the drama of his time;—are historic facts: but his descent from the fabulous judges of Castile; his wonderful expeditions against the Moors; his adventure after the wild boar, and in the hermit's cave; his imprisonment by the king of Leon, and his escape through the romantic fidelity of his beloved Sancha,—with a multitude of other events equally surprising,—may adorn a poem or a romance; but that they should have found a place in authentic history, may well raise a smile of pity at human credulity.*

As mention has been frequently made of the counts of Castile, and as that government is about to form a conspicuous portion of Spanish history, the subject may be properly introduced here.

Ancient Cantabria, which the writers of the eighth century usually termed Bardulia, and which, at this period, stretched from the Biscayan sea to the Duero, towards the close of the same century began to be called *Castella*—doubtless from the numerous forts erected for the defence of the country by Alfonso I. As the bound-

* See Appendix F.

aries were gradually removed towards the south, by the victories of the Christians, the same denomination was applied to the new as well as to the former conquests, and the whole continued subject to the same governor, who had subordinate governors dependent on him. Of the first governors or counts, from the period of its conquest by that prince in 760, to the reign of Ordoño I. (a full century), not even the names are mentioned in the old chroniclers; the first we meet with is that of count Rodrigo, who is known to have possessed the dignity at least six years,—viz. from 860 to 866. He was succeeded by his son Diego Rodriguez, to whom the writers of the thirteenth century give the surname of *Porcellos*, either because he was believed to be descended from the ancient Roman family of that name, or, because —a far more probable supposition—he was a native of Porcelis, a town in that country. This second count is famed as the founder of Burgos, which he peopled in 882—884. Fable has ascribed the origin of that city to a German adventurer, Nuño Belchides. The third count appears to have been Gonzalo Fernandez, father of the celebrated Fernan Gonzalez. The fourth was Nuño Fernandez; probably a brother of Gonzalo. The fifth is Fernan himself, who held the fief from about 932 to 970, and in whom it became hereditary, though nominally, at least, dependent on the crown of Leon. He was succeeded by Garcia Fernandez, the sixth count: the latter (in 995) by his son Sancho Garces; and Sancho Garces, as we shall soon perceive, by Garcia Sanchez, the last count; after whose death the sovereignty became wholly independent of Leon, and passed into the royal house of Navarre, and those sovereigns were styled, not counts, but kings.*

* Sampirus Astoricensis Episcopus, in regno Ranimiri III. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiv. 456.). Monachi Silensis Chronicon (apud eundem, xvii. 305—311.). Ximenes, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. v. c. 9—12., et Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi, lib. iv. c. 84—88. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. et iv.). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part iii. c. 18—20. To these authorities may be added the anonymous Chronicon Burgense, Annales Complutenses, Annales Compostellani, and the Anales Toledanos (apud Florez, tom. xxiii. passim). Favyn, Histoire de Navarre, liv. ii. p. 55, &c. Gutierrez, Historia del Condado de

932 to 999. Bermudo II., who, on the death of Ramiro, in 982, was acknowledged king of Leon, had little reason to congratulate himself on his elevation, since his reign was one of the most disastrous in the national annals,—distracted alike by domestic rebellion and foreign invasion. Of the rebels who embittered his days by openly favouring the frequent invasions of the Mohammedans, three are particularly mentioned in history, Rodrigo Velasquez, Conancio, and Gonzalo Bermudez. The first, who was governor of Galicia, offended at the just deposition of his son, the bishop of Santiago, by the king, openly joined the misbelievers, whom he caused to lay waste the whole of that province, with the holy precincts of Santiago. The second, by artfully spreading the report of Bermudo's death—then absent to allay some disturbances in the western provinces—gave rise to the most bitter factions in the capital, which did not end without much bloodshed. The third, who commanded the castle of Luna, openly rebelled, collected the seditious to his standard, and declared his intention of dethroning Bermudo. If the king partially triumphed over these commotions, he had little success with the fierce Almansor, who laid waste the greater part of his kingdom, entered his very capital, and forced him to seek refuge in the heart of the Asturias. He died in 999.* His character is drawn in very different colours by the ancient chroniclers. The monk of Silos represents him as judicious and prudent, as tempering justice with mercy, as pious and charitable, as restoring the Wisigothic laws of Wamba, and as exhibiting, even in the most painful fits of the gout—and from his constant subjection to that complaint he is generally known as Bermudo the *Gouty*—the most determined valour against the misbelievers. On the other hand, Pelayo, the bishop of Oviedo, calls him imprudent and tyrannical, the persecutor of God's

Castilla, i. 57. Masdeu, Historia Civil de la España Arabe, tom. xii. 227—267., tom. xv. Illustracion, 9. et 14. The Vestis Serica of Abu Bakir. The Vestis Acu Picta of Abu Abdalla (apud Casiri, tom. ii. passim); and Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. tom. i. passim.

* Such is the date given by the monk of Silos and Pelayo; but the Annales Complutenses assign 1009, the Anales Toledanos 1005

servants, and the most wicked (*nefandissimus*) of princes. But in the instances which this prelate adduces, he betrays at once his malice, his credulity, and his want of information.* On the whole, though he is too favourably treated by the former authority, he may be ranked among the most respectable princes of his age.

In the time of this prince, don Sancho Garces rebelled against his father, don Garcia Fernandez, count of Castile. The result is unknown, as well as whether a reconciliation were effected between them. All that can be certainly collected is, that in 995 the father was defeated and taken prisoner by the Cordovans; that he died of his wounds five days afterwards; and that he was consequently succeeded by don Sancho. The celebrated infantes de Lara, of whom there are so many popular ballads in the exhaustless store of Spanish metrical lore, were his kinsmen.†

ALFONSO V. was only five years of age on the death of his father; and the government was consequently intrusted to a regent. That regency is eventful, from the defeat of Almansor in 1001,—a defeat which not only occasioned the death of that hero, but which was the forerunner of the fall of Cordova. In the dissensions which followed among the candidates for the throne of Hixem, the Christian princes of Spain embraced different sides, as their interests or inclinations dictated. In 1010, Alfonso was imprudent enough to confer the hand of his sister on Mohammed, king of Toledo,—a prince who was subsequently raised to the throne of Cordova, but was soon deposed and put to death by Hixem. 999 to 1010.

As the king of Leon grew in years, he endeavoured to repair the disasters which had been occasioned by the hostile inroads of the Arabs: he rebuilt and repeopled his capital, whither the seat of government was again transferred from Oviedo; he restored both to the 1010 to 1026.

* See Appendix G.

† As these infantes belong to romance, not to history, we must refer the more curious reader to the Notes in Southey's Chronicle of the Cid.

churches and to individuals the property of which they had been despoiled; and proclaimed some salutary laws for the observance of the local counts. His good intentions, however, were not a little thwarted by the rebellion of count Sancho Garces of Castile, who disdained to acknowledge his authority. The count, ample as were the possessions of which he usurped the sovereignty, would probably have been made to submit, had he and Alfonso lived a few years longer; for the latter, from the earliest age, exhibited a bold and enterprising spirit. But in 1021, don Sancho died: his son, don Garcia, a mere child, succeeded him. This seemed to the king of Leon a most favourable opportunity for binding Castile closely with his crown, by a double union between the two houses: his son Bermudo he proposed to marry with doña Ximena, sister of the young count, and the count himself with his daughter doña Sancha; at the same time he offered to confer on his future son-in-law the title of king. The offer was too tempting to be rejected: accompanied by his nobles, the count, in 1026, left Burgos for the court of Leon, where he was received with all the friendship due to the character he was about to assume. But amidst the rejoicings consequent on his arrival, he was assassinated by the sons of one count Vela, who had been the vassals of his father, and who had fled from Castile to Leon, where they had been kindly received by Alfonso. The consternation of both Castilians and Leonnese, especially of king and daughter, was only equalled by their thirst for vengeance. The assassins fled to Monzon, and thence towards the country of the Mohammedans; but they were overtaken by the king of Navarre, brother-in-law of the murdered count, who took and burnt them alive. With don Garcia ended the counts of Castile, — which was thenceforth to be governed by kings, and to remain more than two centuries dissevered from Leon.

1026 and 1027. Alfonso, soon after this tragical catastrophe, carried his arms into Portugal, and laid siege to Viseo, then held by the Mohammedans. One day, however, being so

imprudent as to approach very near to the walls without any defensive armour, he was mortally wounded by an arrow from the ramparts, and the siege was in consequence raised.

Like his father, BERMUDO III., though already married to the infanta of Castile, was at a tender age on his accession. Of this circumstance advantage was unworthily taken by Sancho el Mayor, king of Navarre, who, not satisfied with assuming the sovereignty of Castile in right of his queen, doña Muna Elvira, the elder sister of the queen of Leon, and daughter of don Garcia, the last count of Castile, made a hostile irruption into the states of his brother-in-law. Having passed the Pisuerga, the western boundary of Castile, he conquered as much of Leon as lay between that river and the Cea. Peace was, however, made on the condition that the king of Leon should confer the hand of his sister, doña Sancha, on don Fernando, one of king Sancho's sons. But this peace appears to have been subsequently broken, doubtless through the ambition of the enterprising Navarrese; for, according to the Complutensian and Toledan Annals, that king in 1034 possessed Astorga, and indeed most of the country as far as Galicia. Yet what need of conquest? As Bermudo continued childless, the wily monarch might safely cherish the hope that the crown of Leon would devolve on the brows of his son in right of the infanta his daughter-in-law. 1027 to 1034.

On the death of Sancho, in 1035, his ample states were thus divided:—To Garcia he left the kingdom of Navarre, the lordship of Biscay (which had been hitherto annexed to Castile), and a part of Rioja; to Fernando he bequeathed the new kingdom of Castile, and the conquests he had made between the Pisuerga and the Cea; to Ramiro fell the states of Aragon, which had hitherto continued a lordship as much dependent on Navarre as Castile on Leon; to another son, Gonzalo, he left Ribagorza, with some forts in Aragon. 1035.

This policy could not fail to be followed by fatal results. While Ramiro made war on his brother of 1036 and 1037.

Navarre, Fernando I. was summoned to the defence of the conquests which he held beyond the Pisuerga, and which Bermudo resolved again to incorporate with the kingdom of Leon. Aided by some auxiliary troops under his brother Garcia, he encountered Bermudo on the banks of the Carrion. The battle, which was fought in 1037, was sanguinary and long continued; until the king of Leon impatiently spurred his horse into the midst of the hostile squadrons, and fell mortally wounded by the thrust of a lance.

With Bermudo III. ended the male line of the house of Leon. This prince deserved a better fate than that of falling by hostile hands at the premature age of nineteen. The zeal with which he rebuilt churches and monasteries; the valour which he exhibited against the Mohammedans of Portugal, from whom he took several fortresses; the firmness with which, even at that early age, he enforced the administration of justice; and his affability of disposition,—rendered him deservedly dear to his people.*

2. *Separate Crowns of Leon and Castile.*

1026—1230.

1026 to 1037. In Castile, the reign of Sancho *el Mayor*, the first sovereign of the new kingdom, began in 1026, and ended in 1035. Hence, as Fernando grasped the sceptre early in the latter year, he had reigned somewhat more than two years, when, by the death of Bermudo III.,

* Pelagius Ovetensis Episcopus, Chronicon Regum Legionensium (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiv. 466—470, &c.). Monachi Silensis Chronicon (apud eundem, xvii. 312). Annales Complutenses (apud eundem, xxiii. 312, &c.). Chronicon Burgense (eodem tomo, p. 308.). Annales Compostellani (in eodem, 318.). Chronicon de Cardeña, p. 371. (apud eundem, et in eodem tomo). Chronicon Conimbricense, p. 337. (in eodem). Anales Toledanos, i. p. 383, &c. (in eodem). Moret, Anales de Navarra, tom. i. lib. 8. et 9. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. ii. liv. 7. Rodericus Toletanus, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. v. et vi. Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi, lib. iv. p. 87—90. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. et iv.). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part iii. cap. 21—23. Favyn, Histoire de Navarre. To these may be added the fragments of Casiri; the Historia Arabum of Rodrigo of Toledo; Condé, by Marlés; and D'Herbelot, passim. The authorities of this period are too numerous to be all cited.

in June, 1037, he became, in right of his queen, king also of Leon.

But FERNANDO I., though he lost no time in marching his victorious army to the city of Leon, was not immediately recognised by the inhabitants of that capital. Their affection for their deceased king; their resentment towards his victor, especially as that victor was the son of one whose memory they had little reason to respect; and, still more, the humiliation of receiving as their master the sovereign of a country which had until within the last eleven years been dependent on their rulers;—made them offer for a few days a courageous resistance. But sober reflection now taught them, that there was little wisdom in exasperating one whom sooner or later they must inevitably obey; and they opened their gates to him. Their ill-will was speedily dissipated by the condescension of his manner, and by the zeal with which he strove to gain their favour. He confirmed the laws of Alfonso, adding others equally applicable to the wants and habits of the people: to render his popularity secure, he fixed his court among them in preference to Burgos, and in his public decrees always assumed the title of king of Leon before that of Castile. Some attempts, indeed, to disturb his repose were at first made by men, who, having so long enjoyed the privilege of rebelling against their native sovereigns, naturally expected that they might exercise it with greater impunity under a stranger; but the active monarch triumphed over all opposition: his throne was at length established in the hearts of his subjects. 1037 to 1055.

But if Fernando was freed from domestic troubles, he experienced them from a neighbour and a brother; an inevitable effect of the disastrous policy of his father. His prosperity was envied by the king of Navarre, who, actuated, we are told, by the very demon of ambition, and regardless alike of honour, or faith, or fraternal obligation, formed a design for depriving him, if not of life, at least of sovereignty. In a fit of real or pretended sickness, this latter prince, who had fixed his court at Najera,

sent for Fernando, and at the same time enjoined his domestics to seize him during his visit. Fernando did not fail to go; but being warned of his danger by the very creatures of don Garcia, who revolted at the meditated treason, he easily contrived to escape it. Not long afterwards he sent a similar invitation to his elder brother, who, in the view of removing all suspicion as to the past plot, was likewise induced to accept it. On the way don Garcia was arrested and consigned to the castle of Ceya. But the guards, whether bribed by the prisoner, or, as we would fain believe, influenced by a more honourable motive, suffered him to escape. This was a signal for open war between the two brothers; a war which Fernando, however conscious of his own superior power, vainly endeavoured to avert by entreaties or remonstrances. At the head of a combined army of
1054. Navarrese and Mohammedans, don Garcia, in 1054, invaded Castile: near Burgos, he was encountered by the king of Leon and Castile. Before the struggle commenced, attempts were made to dissuade the assailant from his unnatural, and hopeless as unnatural, purpose; but not even the affectionate entreaties of his governor in infancy could succeed. Seeing the number of the enemy, and the hopelessness of the contest, the faithful old man,—faithful even unto death,—seized sword and lance, and placed himself in the front of the lines, without shield, or helmet, or breastplate; resolving rather to die than to behold the death of his beloved master.* Here, as the squadrons closed, he received the fate he sought; and, as he had foreseen, it immediately fell on don Garcia, who was pierced to the heart by a lance in the hand of some officer connected with the royal house of Leon,—probably, as the monk of Silos asserts, at the secret instigation of the queen of Leon, doña

* This affecting incident is not mentioned either by the monk of Silos or by Lucas Tudensis; but it is related at length by the archbishop Rodrigo, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. vi. cap. 10. "Sed ego præmoriar, ne te videam morientem quem tanto studio enutrivi."

Sancha.* The army, which had lost its chief, immediately fled. The victor gave orders that the Navarrese should be allowed to retire unmolested, but permitted the vengeance of his soldiers to fall on the Mohammedan auxiliaries. The corpse he buried with royal honours and fraternal regret in the principal church of Najera.†

No sooner had Fernando restored tranquillity to his states, than he prepared for the execution of a project he had long formed, — that of making war on the Mohammedan possessions in Lusitania. In the spring of 1055 he passed the Duero, the Tormes at Salamanca, and entered by way of Almeida. The first place which he reduced was Cea; he next seized, one by one, the fortresses in the vicinity; obtained great plunder and numerous captives. During the following year he appears to have been inactive; but in 1057 he took the important cities of Viseo and Lamego. The siege of the former was long and troublesome, owing to the excellent archers who defended the place; but its reduction was resolved, both in revenge for the death of king Alfonso, and because its possession was necessary as a point of departure for further conquests. On its fall, Fernando was so mean as to cut off the hands of the archer who, thirty years before, had mortally wounded his father-in-law. Lamego also made an obstinate though short defence, and was visited with some severity. The garrison were massacred; the rest of the inhabitants consigned to slavery and chains. To acquire Coimbra now inflamed his ambition; but, previous to undertaking so important a siege, he journeyed to the shrine of Santiago, in Galicia, to gain the intercession, if not the visible help, of that chivalric apostle. He invested

1055 to 1058.

* Rodrigo of Toledo (lib. vi. cap. 10. p. 98. ed. Schottus, Hisp. Illust. tom. ii.) attributes the death of Garcia to two Navarrese deserters; and the anonymous author of the Annals of Compostella (apud Florez, xxiii. 369.) to the jealousy of a soldier, whose wife the king had dishonoured.

† We suspect that the Castilian writers have somewhat exaggerated the ill-conduct of the king of Navarre. There can be no doubt, however, that he was a tyrannical, rash, and vindictive prince, — qualities which he is even allowed by the Navarrese writers to have possessed.

the place in January, 1058, (not even the rigours of winter could cool his zeal,) and obtained it by capitulation the following July. He had thus conquered the whole country between the Duero and the Mondego, constituting the greater portion of the modern province of Beira: north of the latter river, not a single fortified place remained dependent on the misbelievers. If the diploma of this king* were genuine, the monks of Lorvam had no little share in the honour of the conquests; since they supplied the besiegers with provisions, at a time when the siege, but for such aid, must have been abandoned. In return, the grateful monarch secured them in the possession of their privileges; not the slightest of which was the confirmation of their exemption from contributions, originally granted by Alboacem, Mohammedan governor of Coimbra, about thirty years after the conquest.† The victor, grateful to Santiago, by whose aid he believed this triumph had been gained, laid magnificent offerings on the altar of that apostle.

1058 to 1065. The wars of Fernando in other parts were not less signal. He extended the boundary of Castile from the Duero almost to the gates of Alcala de Henares; and would, no doubt, have taken both that city and even Madrid, had not the king of Toledo become his vassal and paid him tribute. He even carried his hostile irruptions into Valencia and Andalusia; but derived little advantage from them, if we except the relics of St. Isidore,

* Published by Sandoval, Historia de los Reyes de Castilla (in regno D. Fernandi), fol. 12. This deed looks suspicious.

† This famous deed is in another work of the same author, Historias de los Cinco Obispos (notas, fol. 87.). It, too, has a suspicious appearance. That the monks should not only be exempted from tribute, but allowed to pass and repass to Coimbra at any time, day or night, without the slightest interruption, seems odd. "Veniant et vadant ad Colimbriam cum libertate, per diem et per noctem, quando melius velint aut nolint." Why grant the Christians — and monks too — a privilege denied to Mussulmans themselves? Such words, too, as *Juzgo*, *Maurus*, &c. smell of a date full two centuries later. Why should *Maurus* be taken, *per synecdochen*, for *Mohammedan?* At this period the *Arabs* were the more numerous, and the only powerful body of the Mussulman population in Spain. The date sufficiently shows the imposture. "Fuit facta carta de Juzgo, æra de Christianis 772, secundum vero annos Arabum 147, Lunæ 13 Dulhija." This æra, 772, corresponds with A. D 734; but A. H. 147 does not open until March 9. A. D. 764, or thirty years later. Other objections might be raised no less insuperable; yet, after all, the document is very ancient and curious.

which he compelled the king of Seville to surrender to him. In his last expedition, while under the walls of Valencia, he was assailed by a sickness which he knew would be fatal: he was, therefore, forced to abandon the siege, and return to Leon.

The last days of this great king were wholly occupied 1065.
in extraordinary devotional exercises.* He refused to receive the sacrament in his palace, and, though exhausted by his disease, insisted on being carried to the church of St. Isidore, where he passed whole hours, both during day and at midnight, in prayer, and in the ritual observances of his religion. On the morning of Monday, the 26th day of December, he caused himself to be arrayed in his royal vestments, and carried to the church, accompanied by his bishops and abbots, and inferior clergy. Kneeling before the altar of St. John, and raising his eyes to heaven, he said: — "Thine, O Lord, is the power, thine the dominion! Thou art the King of kings, the supreme alike in heaven and on earth! I return unto thee the crown which thou hast given me, and which I have worn during thy good pleasure. And now I only ask, that, when my soul leaves this body, thou wilt receive it into thy celestial mansion!" His royal crown and mantle were now removed, the penitential habit was thrown over him, and as he lay prostrate on the floor, ashes were scattered on his head. In that posture chiefly he remained, confessing his sins, and imploring the divine mercy, until late in the following day, when he resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator.

Thus died one of the greatest and best princes that ever swayed the Christian sceptre in Spain. His enduring conquests, his zeal for the welfare of his people, his generosity of mind, his care of religion, and his liberality towards its ministers, his charity towards the poor, his humility of deportment, and his piety, cause him to be regarded as a model both for kings and private indivi-

* Fernando was so humble that he often dined with the poor monks of San Facundus. One day, as he was about to drink wine from a glass vessel, he let it fall, and it was broken. He instantly replaced it by one of gold, adorned with precious stones. — *Chron. Silense.*

duals. Unfortunately, however, in his last testament, he committed the same deplorable error as his father. To Sancho, the eldest of his sons, he left the kingdom of Castile; to Alfonso, the most beloved of his children, those of the Asturias and Leon; and to Garcia, Galicia, which then extended into Lusitania as far as the Duero: his recent conquests were also divided among them according to their contiguity. Nor were his two daughters overlooked: Urraca, the eldest, had the city of Zamora; and Elvira that of Toro; and to both was bequeathed in addition the patronage of several monasteries.*

1065 to 1071. Alfonso VI. of Leon, and Sancho II. of Castile, appear to have lived in tranquillity with each other during two years after their father's death,—a longer period than might have been expected from their mutual jealousies and their proneness to war. In 1068, Sancho assumed the assailant, and defeated his brother on the banks of the Pisuerga. History leaves us in the dark alike as to the causes and consequences of this warfare: all that is certain is, that a suspension of hostilities followed until 1071, when the brothers again encountered each other near the river Carrion, at a place called Valpellage.† The battle was obstinate and bloody: it ended in the defeat of the Castilians; but the latter, by surprising the Leonnese in their camp, not only restored the honour of their arms, but almost exterminated the

* Pelagius Ovetensis, Chronicon Regum Legionensium (apud Florez, xiv. 471.). Monachi Silensis Chronicon (apud eundem, xvii. 313, &c.). Ximenes, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. vi. cap. 9—12. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. p. 98, &c.). Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi (apud eundem, tom. iv. p. 92—96.). Chronicon Burgense (apud Florez, xxiii. 309.). Annales Compostellani (in eodem tomo, p. 319.). Anales Toledanos (in eodem tomo, p. 384.). Chronicon Compostellanum (apud eundem, xx. 326.). Annales Complutenses (apud eundem, xxiii. 313.) Chronicon Conimbricense (in eodem tomo, 329—337.). Chronicon Lusitanum (apud eundem, xiv. 417, &c.). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part iii. to the end. Favyn, Histoire de Navarre, liv. iii. Moret, Anales de Navarra, tom. i. liv. 9.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. i. liv. 1. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. ii. liv. 7. Masdeu, Historia Civil de la España Arabe, xii. 331—366. See also Abu Bakir, Vestis Serica; Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, seu Regum Almorabitarum Series (apud Casiri, tom. ii. passim); Ximenes, Historia Arabum, cap. 46.; and Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, tom. ii. passim.

† Also Golpeliera, Golpellar, Golpejures, Vulpeju, Vulpecularia, &c.

enemy. Alfonso himself was taken prisoner. He is said to have owed his life to the intercession of his sister Urraca; but he was enclosed in the monastery of Sahagun, with the view that he should there be compelled to embrace the ecclesiastical state, and thereby become incapacitated for the crown. Ere long, however, we find him at the court of Toledo: whether he had escaped thither, or been exiled by his brother, is uncertain.

The possession of two states did not satisfy the ambition of Sancho, who, as the eldest son of the late king, aspired to the whole of his kingdom, — to Galicia and Portugal, as well as the cities of Zamora and Toro. In a battle fought at Santarem, he is said to have defeated, and it is added that he afterwards dethroned, don Garcia; but from the obscure, often contradictory, relations of the ancient chroniclers, the probability is, that he allowed his brother to retain possession of the throne, on the condition of homage and tribute. This hypothesis acquires greater weight from the fact, that, on the return of Alfonso from Toledo, Garcia was still in Galicia, and that the latter was dethroned by the former. Whatever might be the issue of this war, Sancho hastened to Zamora, which he invested. The various circumstances with which romance has adorned the relation of this siege may well be omitted.* All that we certainly know is, that in 1072 the king was assassinated before the place by a Castilian knight, Vellido Dolfos, — probably at the instigation of doña Urraca. Thus fell Sancho the Brave, after a reign of near seven years in Castile and two in Leon. 1072.

When news of this catastrophe reached Toledo, Alfonso secretly left that capital, — for he was not without his suspicions (probably well grounded), that his de-

* They may be found in Rodrigo of Toledo, the Chronicle of Alfonso el Sabio, and Mariana, &c. This is the peculiar period of romance: almost every fact is so distorted by it that the truth can be found only in the writers contemporary. See Appendix H. relating to the *Cid* Ruy Diaz de Bivar. To that Appendix we have consigned such historic events as we consider apocryphal, — such, especially, as rest on the authority of the Cid's biographers. For this reason, the text of the present history will sometimes be found more barren of events than most other works on this subject. If we were disposed to admit romance, we could easily be copious.

parture would be prevented by his host,— and went to Zamora.* There, chiefly through the activity of his sister, many thousands resorted — Leonnese, Castilians, and Galicians — to see and acknowledge him. Having taken possession of Leon and Castile, he invited his brother of Galicia, don Garcia, to his court, and immediately confined that prince in the castle of Luna. There the latter passed the remaining years of his life; deprived, indeed, of his liberty, but in other respects treated with royal magnificence.

1073 to 1085. Undisturbed master of the Asturias, Leon, Galicia, and Castile, Alfonso was watchful to extend his conquests. His first expedition, in 1074, was in defence of his host, the king of Toledo, against whom the king of Cordova was advancing. The last-named ruler being expelled from the territories of Toledo, and pursued even to the gates of his capital, Alfonso carried his arms into Portugal, reduced Coria, and rendered many of the Mohammedan governors of that country, even south of the Mondego, his tributaries. But his most important wars were directed against the kingdom of Toledo (his host had died in the interim within the walls of Seville). In 1078, he commenced hostilities against Yahia ben Ismail, and in the four following years wrested from the government of that prince most of the cities and towns north and east of the capital, thus circumscribing the dominions of Yahia to little more than the walls of Toledo. Of these glorious and enduring conquests, comprising no fewer than twenty fortified places, so little is said, even by contemporary chroniclers, that we have no more than the meagre names. In 1083, he formally invested that important capital, which after a siege of two years capitulated, as

* Here, too, the prelates of Toledo and Tuy, the General Chronicle (Alfonso's), and the Romance of the Cid, may be consulted. We cannot describe the endless improbabilities we encounter. The romance of this period is to be found embodied in Dr. Southey's admirable translation of the Chronicle of the Cid, — a work not more distinguished for its erudition than for its interest.

related in the first volume of this history.* In the following year an archbishop was appointed to this restored see.

As the other wars of Alfonso with the Mohammedans need not be repeated here, there is little during the rest of his reign to strike the attention. To fortify himself, however, against the formidable Almoravides,— who at this period were annihilating, one by one, the princes of Andalusia, who had signally defeated himself†, and were preparing to push their conquests farther towards the north and west,—he connected himself more closely with some French princes, to whom in return he was indebted for some portion of success. To Henry count of Besançon, a near relative of his queen Constance, in 1095 he gave his illegitimate daughter Theresa, with his Lusitanian conquests, extending from Oporto on the Duero to the confines of the Mohammedan kingdom of Badajoz. These conquests, which had before been subject to the governors of Galicia, were to be held as a fief dependent on the crown of Leon; but he must have been blind indeed, if he hoped that such dependence would always exist. Another daughter, Elvira, by his queen Constance, he gave to Raymond count of Toulouse. Five years before, he had bestowed a third and the eldest of his daughters, Urraca, on Raymond count of Burgundy, with the government of Galicia. These three

1085 to 1109.

* Rodrigo of Toledo (lib. vi. cap. 23.) has some rude verses on the conquests of this prince: —

"Obsedit secura suum castella Toletum,
Castra sibi septena parans, aditumque recludens.
Rupibus alta licet, amploque situ populosa,
Circumdante Tago, rerum virtute referta:
Victu victa carens, invicto se dedit hosti.
Huic Medina-Cœlim, Talavera, Conimbria plaudant,
Abula, Secobia, Salmantica, Publica Septem,
Cauria, Cauca, Colar, Iscar, Medina-Canales
Ulmus et Ulmetum, Magerit, Atentia, Ripa
Osuma cum Fluvio-lapidum, Valeranica, Maura,
Ascalona, Fita, Consocra, Maqueda, Butracum
Victori sine fine suo modulantur ovantes.
Ildephonse! tui resonent super astra triumphi!"

But many of these places had been previously taken, perhaps not retained, by the father of Alfonso.

† See the corresponding period in Chapter II. of Mohammedan Spain.

princes had entered his service at the instance of their liege superior, Philip I. of France.

1109. Alfonso died in 1109. As his only son, don Sancho, had fallen in battle with the Almoravides, he left to his eldest daughter Urraca, now either widow of Raymond, or very recently married to Alfonso I., king of Aragon and Navarre, the crowns of Leon and Castile; and to their son Alfonso Raymond the lordship of Galicia, as an hereditary fief. The evils arising from this injudicious policy were sure to counterbalance all the good this king ever procured for the country. His great actions, his great qualities, were thus rendered eventually useless to his people. Had his son been spared, the power of his states would have been consolidated, and Christian Spain more able to contend with the formidable Moors. That his want of foresight led to the loss of Portugal, will appear in the sequel: that it did not lead to greater disasters, was owing to no wisdom of his, but to circumstances which fortunately corrected the mischief of his dispositions.

In reading the events of the last two reigns, the reader may have felt some surprise at finding no mention of Rodrigo de Bivar, the famous Cid Campeador, whose exploits form so prominent a place in the Chronicles of Alfonso the Learned, and most subsequent historians of Spain. The cause of omission may soon be explained: those exploits rest on authority so questionable; they are, throughout, so much at variance with genuine history; they are in themselves often so improbable, sometimes so impossible; that, when weighed in the scale, either of historic evidence or of reason, they are lighter than air, and, perhaps, afford even room for doubt whether such a personage as the Campeador ever existed. As this personage, however, whether real or fabulous, is too important to be dismissed without notice, and as what is believed to be romance should not be confounded with what is known to be true, his character and deeds, like those

of his equally famous predecessors, Bernardo del Carpio and Fernando Gonsalez, shall be consigned to the Appendix.*

URRACA, queen of Castile and Leon, did not long remain even on tolerable terms with her husband, ALFONSO VII., who had been associated with her in the government.— Whether it was owing to her disposition, which was evidently overbearing, and even tyrannical, or to her conduct, which is known to have been imprudent, and is supposed to have been criminal, the two sovereigns soon came to an open misunderstanding. The Castilians naturally espoused the cause of their queen —not so much from attachment to her person, as from hatred of the Aragonese yoke. Alfonso then filled the fortresses of both kingdoms with trusty governors chosen from among his hereditary subjects. This added fuel to the flame of discontent, which burned still more fiercely on hearing that the king had confined doña Urraca in the fortress of Castellar. If any faith is to be placed in Rodrigo of Toledo, who asserts that she had a son by one of her vassals, count don Diego Gomez, whose intrigues with her are confirmed by the contemporary writers of the History of Compostella, the husband had reason enough for this act of rigour. In this retirement, however, she was not so closely guarded that she could not inform her partisans of her situation: a considerable number secretly resorted to Castellar, and bore her back to

1109 to 1111.

* See Appendix H. Pelagius Ovetensis, Chronicon Regum Legionensium (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiv. 472.); Ximenes, Historia Arabum, p. 47., necnon Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, lib. vi. cap. 13—23. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. p. 94—105.). Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi (apud eundem, iv. 96—100.). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part iv. cap. 1—3. Chronicon Burgense (apud Florez, xxiii. 309, &c.). Chronicon Lusitanum (apud eundem, xiv. 419.). Chronicon Conimbricense (apud eundem, xxiii. 338, &c.). Annales Complutenses (in eodem tomo, p. 314.). Chronicon Complutense (in eodem, p. 316.). Annales Compostellani (in eodem, 320, &c.). Anales Toledanos (in eodem, p. 383.). Chronicon de Cardeña (in eodem, p. 372.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno Pedro I.). Favyn, Histoire de Navarre, liv. iv. Moret, Anales de Navarra, tom. i. lib. 10. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. ii. liv. 7. cap. 2. et 3. Masdeu, Historia Civil de la España Arabe, xii. 369—417. Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta (apud Casiri, ii. 214.). Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. ii. 230, &c.

Burgos. For the first time, she now caused it to be proclaimed that her scruples of conscience would not permit her longer to cohabit with her husband — for Alfonso was her first cousin — which meant, that she either wanted another, or that she was resolved to abandon herself without one to her acknowledged propensity.* As civil war seemed inevitable, unless a reconciliation were effected between the royal pair, the nobles of Castile and Leon exerted themselves with so much success to attain this end, that they consented to smother their mutual repugnance, and again to approach each other. Unfortunately, however, the reconciliation was but momentary. Disgusted with her levity, her haughtiness, and, most probably, incensed at her guilt, the king publicly repudiated her at Soria, and sent her back into Castile. The nobles of that and the sister kingdom espoused her cause, and swore to shake off the domination of Aragon. But Alfonso had possession of many fortresses, which he hastened to defend. The first battle between him and Diego Gomez, the queen's paramour, happened on the 26th day of October, 1111, in the vicinity of Sepulveda. The king was victorious; don Diego, the general, being left dead in the field. But the queen appears soon to have consoled herself for the loss of one lover by another; if, indeed, she did not possess both at the same time. His place was supplied by don Pedro de Lara, by whom she is known to have had issue. It must not, however, be concealed, that, to save her reputation, some modern historians, with more chivalry than knowledge of their own chronicles, contend that she was secretly married to the count, though not one word of such a union is to be found in any one of those authorities.†

* The character of this princess is very unfavourably, and no doubt very truly, drawn by the national writers of Aragon, and even by the foreign historians of Spain.

† The sticklers for the marriage of the queen with don Pedro forget to tell us that the son of which that count was the father was born before her separation from Alfonso. This son was called Diego *Hurtado*, or Diego the *Stealthy*, since his birth was carefully concealed. How many other children she had by the count, cannot be gathered from the obscure expressions — "Comitem Larensem P. Gundisalvidem, qui cum matre ipsius regis

After this victory, king Alfonso took undisputed possession of Burgos, Palencia, Coria, Sahagun, and even Leon. He is accused of having committed atrocities during his march, worthy only of the fierce Almohades; but accusations made by rancorous opponents cannot be received with too much caution. There was now a third party formed, which appears to have favoured neither the queen nor the king of Aragon, and which, in 1112, crowned the infant don Alfonso Raymond king of Galicia. The dislike entertained by the people to the domination of a foreigner, and the notorious levities of Urraca, were the causes which influenced the bishop of Santiago (whose see was subsequently raised into an archbishopric) to take this step, and to deprive the king of Aragon of all pretensions over Castile and Leon: he requested the pope to declare null the marriage between that sovereign and the queen, —the only basis on which those pretensions rested. Until the will of the pontiff should be known, the queen retreated into Galicia, to collect troops for her defence and that of her son. Aided by the forces of her brother-in-law, count Enrique of Portugal, she soon returned into Leon, to raise the siege of Astorga, then pressed by the king of Aragon. Alfonso was compelled to retire from the place; but his troops continued to make incursions from their fortresses into the surrounding country. But this struggle seemed likely to be protracted hopelessly; especially as the queen's own nobles, whom her weak or criminal partiality for don Pedro de Lara so deeply disgusted, sometimes refused to couch a lance in her behalf. A council, however, having assembled at Palencia (in 1114) in conformity with the papal recommendation, to decide on the great question previously submitted to his holiness, and declared

1111 to 1114.

(Urraca, mother of Alfonso VII.) adulterine concubuerat, ex ipsa regina adulterinos filios et filias genuerat, &c."—*Histor. Compost.* p. 518. (apud Florez, tom. xx.).

It must not, however, be forgotten, that the character of this princess, which required no unnecessary severity, has been deepened in colour by the prejudiced, we might say the vindictive, authors of this Chronicle.

the marriage to be null, the supporters of the Aragonian king gradually fell from him, and he left the kingdom to turn his arms against the Mohammedans of his neighbourhood.

1115 to 1126. The retreat of Alfonso did not restore peace to the lacerated state. Though the queen recovered the fortresses which still held for him, her unbridled passions, and her conduct—a mixture at once of rashness and pusillanimity—created enemies on every side. Now the bishop of Santiago, now her own son, was the object of her persecution. More than once did she unnaturally arm against the latter; and when constrained to a reconciliation with him, she renewed hostilities the moment her unprincipled ambition discovered an opening for them. Not satisfied with the tranquil possession of Leon and Castile, she aspired to that of Galicia; and, on the other hand, the partisans of her son, disgusted with her character and actions, were anxious to dethrone her, and place their favourite in her room. Several towns of the kingdom, indeed, declared for the young prince; and, on one occasion, her paramour was seized by two Castilian nobles, and confined in the castle of Mansilla. The internal state of the country, which was alternately ravaged by the hostile parties, was horrible. In fact, her reign was one uninterrupted succession of troubles; most of which were justly imputable to herself. At length, in 1126, she ended her stormy and disastrous life, to the universal relief of her people. She left to posterity a character darkened by many crimes, and scarcely redeemed by a single virtue.*

* The attempts made by Ferreras (iii. 366.), by Masdeu (xx. 35, &c.), and others, to clear the character of this princess, must surprise every reader conversant with the chroniclers of this period. Her implication in the murder of her brother, don Sancho, before Zamora,—her imprisoning, and, as there is reason to believe, projecting the assassination, of don Diego Gelmirez, metropolitan of Santiago,—her conjugal infidelity,—her unnatural wars with her son,—her restless ambition,—are facts of which no reasonable doubt can be entertained. The positive testimony of the three authors of the History of Compostella, who wrote from 1100 to 1140, cannot be shaken. They are, however, unmercifully treated by Masdeu; not because their testimony is at variance with probability, or unconfirmed by

ALFONSO VIII., usually styled the *Emperor*, who inherited the crowns of Castile and Leon, after silencing a few of his turbulent nobles, directed his first efforts to the recovery of certain fortresses still held in Castile by the king of Aragon. Of these places, some, which had refused to acknowledge his mother, immediately recognised his authority; but Castro-Xeriz and the province of Rioja adhered to the Aragonian. To reduce these, the one put in motion a considerable army: to preserve them, the other advanced as far as Tamara. The blood which should have ransomed Christian Spain from the yoke of the misbelievers was about to flow in this disgraceful strife, when the prelates and barons of both armies wisely interfered, and reconciled the two princes. The king of Aragon even abandoned his remaining possessions in Castile to the young Alfonso. The tranquillity thus established was interrupted for a moment at the end of about two years,—if, indeed, as there is some reason to suspect, the periods have not been confounded, —by another hostile aggression of the king of Aragon, who invested Moron, but who retired without prosecuting the siege. His arms found a more fitting enemy, the Mohammedans, over whom he repeatedly and gloriously triumphed. On his death, before Fraga, in 1134, in an unfortunate action against them, his dominions were rescued from ravage by the seasonable advance of his brother of Castile and Leon, who forced the misbelievers to retire. But the latter sovereign appears to have been actuated by other motives than generosity in affording this prompt succour.* Najera, Calahorra, Tar- 1126 to 1157.

other authority, but because they had the misfortune to be Frenchmen. For the authorities in this reign, see the last citations.

* Zurita (Anales, i. 48.) insists that the Castilian appealed to the generosity of the Aragonese. "Y humiliandose al emperador (Spain had two emperors at the same time) le pidio le dexasse su tierra, y mandasse que se le entregassen sus Castillos; y el, como principe muy generoso, lo tuvo por bien por aquel camino." Such, indeed, is, or seems to be, the relation of Rodrigo of Toledo; but the Chronicles of Castile carefully refrain from mentioning the humiliation; they even go so far as to say that it was the king of Aragon who begged for peace, and that he did so because he was afraid to engage with an enemy so superior in number as the Castilians.

razona, and even Saragossa, omitting many minor places, which opened their gates to him, as the ally of their sovereign Ramiro the Monk, he evidently considered as his conquests; nor would he resign them to the new king, except as fiefs: he endeavoured even to procure the recognition of his superiority over the whole kingdom of Aragon, but in vain. The new king of Navarre, however, did him homage,—doubtless to procure his aid against Ramiro, who wished to re-unite that kingdom with Aragon.* The counts of Barcelona and Toulouse swore fealty in the same manner. These advantages, much more splendid than real, so flattered the pride of Alfonso, that, on his return to Leon, in 1135, he solemnly assumed the imperial title†,—a title as vain as it was pompous; since Navarre was about to become again dependent on Aragon, and Portugal was already independent of his sway. In fact, he had scarcely time to congratulate himself on his fancied increase of dignity, when the princes of Navarre and Portugal, in accordance with a treaty between them, declared war against him. That war led to no decided success on either side: he took, indeed, a few fortresses from the former; but the latter defeated his best troops, and would probably have made some conquests, had not an irruption of the Mohammedans summoned the Portuguese force to a worthier field. The latter triumphed; and on the very plains which, in 1139, witnessed the defeat of the misbelievers, he was elected king.‡

In 1140, Alfonso entered into an iniquitous alliance with the successor of Ramiro (Raymond count of Barcelona, who had married the daughter of Ramiro), in which both princes agreed to conquer and divide Navarre between them. But don Garcia was not to be easily crushed. Before the two kings could unite their forces, he obtained a signal triumph over Raymond; and even

* See the histories of Navarre and Aragon.
† Imperator totius Hispaniæ.
‡ See the History of Portugal.

afterwards compelled his imperial enemy to make peace with him. The alliance was still further cemented, in 1144, by the marriage of Garcia with a natural daughter of Alfonso; and of Sancho, one of Alfonso's sons, with a princess of Navarre. The new king of Portugal, too, who appears to have been the ally of Garcia, and who made several irruptions into Galicia, not only defended his independence, but obtained successes over the Mohammedans as solid as they were splendid.

In his hostilities against the mutual enemies of his country and faith, Alfonso was more fortunate: by him, and his ally of Aragon, the Christian frontier was removed from the Tagus to the Sierra Morena: he rendered tributary the Moorish governors of several places in Andalusia, as Baeza and Andujar. His last battle, delivered in 1157, against the Cid Yussef, son of Abdelmumen, emperor of the Almohades, was indecisive. Immediately after the action, he set out on his return to his own dominions; but death surprised him in the village of Fresnada, near the port of Muradal, one of the great openings through the mountainous chain which separates Andalusia from New Castile. Eight years before his death, he had raised two of his sons to the dignity of kings: on Sancho, the eldest, he had conferred Castile, the mountains of Burgos, Biscay, and Toledo; on Fernando, Leon, the Asturias, and Galicia. Alfonso was no common monarch. Though he lost Portugal, and was unable to withstand the genius of his namesake of Aragon, whom he imitated in assuming the imperial title, yet with fewer pretensions; though he is undeserving the exaggerated praises of the national historians, it cannot be denied that he exhibited great firmness in circumstances often very difficult; that he caused his territory to be respected by his Christian neighbours, and greatly aggrandised it at the expense of the Mohammedans. His talents, however, were inferior to his ambition, and his moderation to both.

Towards the close of Alfonso's reign may be assigned the origin of the military order of Alcantara. Two

cavaliers of Salamanca, don Suero and don Gomez, left that city with the design of choosing and fortifying some strong natural frontier, whence they could not only arrest the continual incursions of the Moors, but make hostile irruptions themselves into the territories of the misbelievers. Proceeding along the banks of the Coales, they fell in with a hermit, Amando by name, who encouraged them in their patriotic design, and recommended the neighbouring hermitage of St. Julian as an excellent site for a fortress. Having examined and approved the situation, they applied to the bishop of Salamanca for permission to occupy the place: that permission was readily granted: with his assistance, and that of the hermit Amanda, the two cavaliers erected a castle around the hermitage. They were now joined by other nobles and by more adventurers, all eager to acquire fame and wealth in this life, glory in the next. Hence the foundation of an order which, under the name, first of St. Julian, and subsequently of Alcantara, rendered good service alike to king and church. Suero, the first superior, wishing to imitate the Templars in leading a life at once religious and military, requested a rule from the bishop of the diocese, and obtained that of St. Benedict.*

1157 to 1188. FERNANDO II. king of Leon, and SANCHO III. king of Castile, ascended the throne in the wise resolution of observing peace with each other, and thereby of averting the evils generally resulting from divided power. Of the latter, little more is known than that he waged a short but successful war against the king of Navarre, who aspired to the possession of Rioja; that his generals were also

* Chronicon Lusitanum, p. 408. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xiv.). Historia Compostellana, lib. iii. (apud eundem, tom. xv.). Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, p. 320—347. (apud eundem, xxi.). Chronicon Conimbricense, p. 330. (apud eundem, xxiii.). Anales Toledanos, i. p. 380. (in eodem). Anales Toledanos, iii. p. 410. (in eodem). Rodericus Toletanus, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, necnon Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. iv.). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part iv. Zurita, Anales de Aragon (sub propriis annis). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. iii. liv. 9. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, by Hermilly, tom. iii.

triumphant over the Moors; that he died at Toledo about a year after his accession (1158), and was succeeded by his infant son Alfonso.

The minority of ALFONSO III., who, on his father's death, was no more than three years of age, was one of troubles: these were chiefly occasioned by the two powerful families of the Castros and Laras, who each contended for the guardianship of the royal infant, and, consequently, for the direction of affairs. By the last will of Sancho, the important trust had been confided to don Gutierrez de Castro. This roused the jealousy of the Laras, whose chief, don Manrique, openly armed to assert his ambitious pretensions. The tempest was for a time allayed by the moderation of don Gutierrez, who, preferring the sacrifice of power to the horrors of civil strife, voluntarily resigned the dignity in favour of a member of the rival house. But on his death, in 1159, his kinsmen endeavoured to regain possession of the guardianship; and on finding that they were unable to contend with the powerful Laras, who even deprived them of all their public employments, in opposition to an express order of the late king,—an order which forbade any changes to be made in the dignitaries of the state, whether civil or military, until the young king arrived at age,—they complained to Fernando of Leon: that sovereign, who coveted the post of regent for himself, immediately invaded Castile; and was acknowledged as such by several cities of the kingdom, especially Toledo. But the Laras, though unable to oppose him on the field, continued to elude his pursuits. By fleeing from fortress to fortress with their important charge, they at length so tired his patience, that he returned to Leon, leaving them in acknowledged possession of their young king's person. But Fernando still retained, as regent, most of the great towns; to obtain these also, the Laras took up arms: he marched against and defeated them. The Navarrese took advantage of these troubles to take several places in Rioja; which, however, were subsequently recovered by the partisans of don

1158 to 1214.

Manrique. In 1163, Fernando was persuaded to make peace with the Laras; but the Castros would not desist from their hostility. The following year, Fernando Ruis de Castro, governor of Toledo, defeated and slew Manrique, so that the wardship fell on another member of the house of Lara. Fortunately, however, these ruinous contentions ceased on the marriage of Alfonso, in 1170, with the princess Eleanor, daughter of our Henry II. From that day the young king exercised the sovereign power without control.

The reign of king Fernando was one of unceasing activity: sometimes at war with the Moors, sometimes with his nephew of Castile, and now with the sovereign of Portugal, he seemed to exist only amidst bustle. The results of these wars were too indecisive, and their details too uninteresting, to require more than a very general notice. He recovered Badajoz, which the king of Portugal had reduced; took Caceres from the Moors; and more than once triumphed over the generals of Yussef, the African emperor. On the whole, however, this period was unfavourable to the Christian arms: the tributary governors of Andalusia had thrown off their forced allegiance at the death of the emperor Alfonso; Portugal had been signally humbled; and the united forces of Castile and Aragon more than once retreated before the formidable Almohades. It was to repress the never-ceasing incursions of the Mohammedans, as well as to return these incursions with interest, that, in the time of Fernando, two military orders, those of Calatrava and Santiago, were instituted.

1158. The origin of the former order was owing to the devotion of two Cistercian monks; St. Raymond, abbot of Fitero, and his companion, the friar Diego Velasquez. These intrepid men, who had both borne arms previous to their monastic profession, indignant at the cowardice of the Templars, who resigned into the king of Castile's hands the fortress of Calatrava, which had been confided to their defence by the emperor Alfonso, proposed, in 1158, to the regency of that kingdom, to preserve that

position against the assailants. The proposal was readily accepted. The preaching of the warlike abbot was so efficacious, that in a short time he assembled 20,000 men, whom he conducted to Calatrava, and among whom were not a few of his own monks. There he drew up the institutions of the order, which took its name from the place, and which in its religious government long followed the Cistercian rule, and wore the same monastic habit,—a white robe and scapulary.*

The other order commenced in 1161. Some robbers 1161.
of Leon, touched with their past enormities, resolved to make reparation for them, by defending the frontiers against the incursions of the Mohammedans. Don Pedro Fernandez—if the *don* has not been added to give something like respectability to the origin—was the chief founder of the order. He engaged the brethren to assume the rule of St. Augustine, in addition to the ordinary obligations of knighthood. His military and monastic fraternity was approved by king Fernando; at whose suggestion the knights chose Santiago as their patron, whose bloody sword, in form of a cross, became their professional symbol. These two orders were richly endowed by successive kings of Leon and Castile, until their possessions became immense. †

Fernando died in 1188, and was succeeded by his 1188
son, Alfonso IX. One of the first acts of the new to
king was to continue the good understanding which had 1230.
for some time subsisted between his father and his cousin of Castile. By the hands of Alfonso III. he received the honour of knighthood, and accompanied that prince in an expedition against the Africans. That good understanding, indeed, was sometimes interrupted.

* By pope Benedict XIII. the habit was dispensed with, and the knights allowed to marry *once*.

† Chronicon Lusitanum, p. 414, &c. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xiv.). Chronicon Burgense (apud eundem, xxiii. 309.) Annales Compostellani (in eodem, p. 322.). Chronicon Conimbricense (in eodem, p. 333.). Anales Toledanos, i. (in eodem, p. 391.). Anales Toledanos, ii. (in eodem, p. 404.). Ximenes, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, necnon Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. iv. sub propriis regnis). Moret, Anales de Navarra, tom. ii. (in regno don Sancho VI.). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. iii. liv. 10, 11.

As early as 1189, the two princes appear to have quarrelled respecting the possession of some unimportant conquests in Estremadura, which, from having been made by their united arms, ought in justice to have been divided between them, but which the sovereign of Castile claimed for himself. The king of Leon, feeling that he was no match single-handed for the Castilian,—during the late reigns this kingdom had been too powerful for its northern neighbour,—contracted a close alliance with his uncle, Sancho I. of Portugal, whose daughter, the princess Theresa, he took to wife. As the parties were within the degree of affinity prescribed by the canon law, pope Celestine III. despatched cardinal Gregory into Spain, to enforce the dissolution of the marriage. A council assembled at Salamanca in 1191 declared it null. Four prelates, however, refused to join their brethren in this condemnation of a union, the validity of which was demanded by the policy of the two monarchs, and to which, assuredly, no objection arising either from the Divine law or that of nature could be urged. They were excommunicated by the furious legate, who threatened to place the kingdom of Leon and Portugal under an interdict, unless the king and queen formally separated from each other. This remonstrance had no effect; the two princes, as well as the queen, appear to have adhered to the marriage as much through inclination as even policy: but the church was not to be resisted with impunity; the interdict, in 1193, was actually laid. The affrighted people began to murmur—not against the pope, the real author of this calamity, but against their sovereigns, whose obstinacy alone they regarded as the cause. In vain did Alfonso send an episcopal ambassador to Rome, to procure a reversal of the sentence, and a dispensation for removing the bar of consanguinity. The pontiff was inexorable: so also, for a considerable time, were Alfonso and his queen. It was not until the year 1195 that they consented to separate.

This was not the only instance in which the king of Leon was opposed in his policy or affections by the successors of St. Peter. After the defeat of Alfonso of Castile in 1195, by Aben Yussef, on the plains of Alarcos, the intemperate language of that prince to his ally of Leon, who was advancing to his assistance, led, as before related, to a war between the two kings, who ultimately laid waste each other's dominions. When, in 1197, they met each at the head of a formidable army, the nobles and prelates of both, convinced how fatal to the Christian cause such contests might become, especially considering the enterprising character of the African emperor, anxiously sought the means of a permanent reconciliation. It was at length agreed that the king of Leon should marry Berengaria, daughter of the king of Castile, and, by her mother Eleanor, nearly connected with our royal house of Plantagenet. How, after the unfortunate issue of the former marriage, the prelates could advocate the solemnisation of another within the same forbidden degree of affinity, we are not informed: they might indulge the hope that, where such mighty interests were involved — where the weal of two states, and that of Christendom, were counterbalanced only by an impediment light as air — the scruples of the pontiff (Innocent III. now filled the chair of St. Peter) would not be insuperable. But their wishes, however natural, were wofully disappointed. Though the marriage had been solemnly celebrated at Valladolid, amidst the rejoicing of a whole people, Innocent loudly demanded the separation of the parties, and despatched a legate with instructions to lay an interdict on the kingdoms of Leon and Castile if this demand were not satisfied. The legate appears to have been more reasonable than his intolerant master; for, on perceiving how vitally the welfare of the two states would be affected by the nullity of the marriage, and the tender affection borne by Alfonso towards the new queen, he suspended the execution of his instructions until a power-

ful representation of these facts were laid before the pope in person. Innocent, like his predecessor, was obstinate—doubtless because, as he had not been previously consulted, he wished to show that the power of the church was not to be resisted even by kings. Alfonso was equally so—the rather as the birth of a son opened a prospect of the union of the two crowns, should that son's legitimacy be undisputed. As before, the king and queen were excommunicated, and Leon placed under the dreaded ban of the church. Some prelates refused to admit the interdict, which they justly considered as both tyrannical in itself, and the offspring of a petty resentment in him who imposed it: they could not see why kings should be refused a dispensation granted to persons of far inferior station, nor why interests so momentous should be sacrificed to the passion or prejudice of an unreasonable old man. Hence the two parties which divided the kingdom,—one in favour of the papal prerogative, the other of common reason and the rights of society. In 1204, however, the resistance of the royal pair began to give way; and they consented to separate, on the condition that the legitimacy of their children were acknowledged both by the pope and the states of Leon. Innocent did not hesitate to comply with the request; and, in a convocation of those states, Fernando, the eldest of their children, was recognised as successor to the throne of his father.

1212. The declared nullity of the marriage was followed by a war—desultory, indeed, but not the less vexatious—between the two Alfonsos: the cause seems to have been the refusal of the Castilian to surrender some fortresses which had been given as dowry by the king of Leon, the restoration of which he had a right to demand on his separation from Berengaria. Peace was at length obtained, through the mediation of the pope, and still more through the apprehensions felt by the Castilian on the approaching invasion of his states by Mohammed ben Yacub, emperor of the Almohades, whose preparations

resounded throughout Europe. How nobly Alfonso, on the plains of Tolosa, in 1212, avenged his defeat of 1195 on those of Alarcon, has been already related.* On this occasion, the king of Leon, who was not with the victorious Christians, took an ungenerous advantage of his father-in-law's absence, and recovered the disputed places. That they were rightfully his, is indisputable; but he might surely have chosen another time for gaining possession of them. Fortunately for him, the Castilian, whose mind seems to have acquired elevation from the splendid success near Tolosa, showed no dissatisfaction at his conduct; but, on the contrary, courted his alliance, that the arms of both might be at any time ready to resist or to assail the Mohammedans. †

Alfonso III. of Castile did not long survive this glorious triumph. After two hostile irruptions into the territories of the enemy, he died in 1214, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, ENRIQUE I. As the new king, however, was only in his eleventh year, the regency was intrusted to his sister Berengaria, the most excellent princess of her age. But neither her wisdom, her virtues, nor the near relation she held to the infant, could avail her with the fierce nobles of Castile. The house of Lara, whose unprincipled ambition had on a former occasion been productive of such evils to the state, again became the scourge of the country. Under the pretence that a woman was unfitted to discharge the office of guardian, the nobles of that house formed a party powerful enough to impose on the regent, who, fearing that, if she retained the direction of affairs, in

1214 to 1217.

* See Chapter II. of the first section.

† Chronicon Lusitanum (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xiv. 416, &c.). Chronicon Burgense (apud eundem, xxiii. 309.). Annales Compostellani (in eodem tomo, p. 323, &c.). Chronicon Conimbricense (in eodem, 335.). Chronicon de Cardeña (in eodem, p. 378). Anales Toledanos, i. (in eodem, p. 393.). Anales Toledanos, ii. (in eodem, p. 404, &c.). Anales Toledanos, iii. (in eodem, p. 411.). Rodericus Toletanus, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, necnon Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. iv. sub propriis regnis). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part iv. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. iii. liv. ii. See also the Vestis Acu Picta of Abu Abdalla (apud Casiri, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii.), and Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. tom. ii.

opposition to the reputed will of the people, the state must be the inevitable prey of convulsion, resigned, the following year, the custody of the royal ward to count Alvaro Nuñez de Lara, the chief of that turbulent family.

No sooner was don Alvaro in possession of the regency, than he exhibited the true features of his character, —haughtiness, rapacity, tyranny, and revenge. Those whom he knew to be obnoxious to his party he imprisoned, or confiscated their possessions. His exactions, which fell on all orders of the state, were too intolerable to be long borne: remonstrances were addressed to him by the clergy; but as they produced no effect, and as he laid violent hands, not only on the substance alike of rich and poor, but on the temporalities of the church, he was solemnly excommunicated by the dean of Toledo. Even this ordinarily terrific weapon was powerless with one who disregarded both justice and religion. The remonstrances of the queen Berengaria were treated with equal contempt: to render her odious to the people, he fabricated letters as if written by her, to procure by poison the death of her brother; but the opposite characters of the two were so well understood, that the imposture deceived no one individual. The regent, however, must have had a powerful party devoted to his interests, or he would not have set at defiance the thunders of the church, and the complaints of the people: that party served him so well in an assembly of the states held at Burgos, for the express purpose of enquiring into his administration, that it neutralised the hostility of the queen's adherents, and the members separated without a decision. "The king's name is a tower of strength;" and such don Alonzo found it; for numbers who declared for the princess, and even armed in her behalf, would not draw the sword against him, when they perceived that he was constantly accompanied by his youthful ward, in whose name all his acts were promulgated. Enrique, indeed, is known to have entertained some repugnance both to the person and character

of the count, and to have expressed a wish to be again placed under his sister's care; but the regent was too powerful for both. To preserve his authority, the latter negotiated a marriage for his ward, first with an infanta of Portugal, next with one of Leon; in both cases, however, without success; — not that either of those courts entertained any objection to the alliance; but owing, in the one case, to the degrees of consanguinity — in the other, to stipulations which required time to discuss. Thus he continued his iniquitous career, running from place to place with the young king, destroying the habitations and confiscating the substance of such as dared to censure his measures. But an accident, as unexpected as its consequences were fortunate for Spain, deranged all his views. Towards the end of May, 1217, while Enrique was playing with his young companions in the court-yard of the episcopal palace of Palencia, a tile from the roof of the tower fell on his head, and inflicted a wound, of which he died on the 6th of June following. Knowing how fatally this event must affect his interests, don Alvaro, with the intention of concealing it as long as he could, conveyed the royal corpse as the living prince to the fortress of Tariego; but the intelligence soon reached the queen, who, on this critical occasion, displayed a prudence and promptitude justly entitled to admiration. By the laws of Castile she was now heiress to the crown; but she resolved to transfer her rights to her son Fernando, heir to the crown of Leon, and thereby to lay the foundation for the union of the two kingdoms. Knowing that the young prince and his father, her former husband, were then at Toro, she despatched two of her knights with an earnest request that king Alfonso would allow her to see her son. The request was immediately granted, and Fernando was conducted to Antillo, where he was met by his impatient mother, and received with acclamation by the people. From thence both hastened to Palencia. Still, as don Alvaro held possession of the chief towns and fortresses, some of the queen's partisans

endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between them; but as he had the insolence to insist on the guardianship of Fernando, it was resolved to reduce him to obedience by force. For a moment, indeed, fortune favoured the rebel: Avila, Segovia, Coria, and some other places which obeyed governors devoted to his cause, refused to acknowledge the queen; and don Sancho, brother of the king of Leon, advanced to assist Alfonso's claim to the regency, if not to the sovereignty of the kingdom. But the appeal of Berengaria to the nobles and clergy of the realm produced, on the other hand, the most favourable effect. All remembered, that during the reign of her father she had been declared heiress to the throne, in case she survived her brother, and that prince died without issue. The states eagerly hastened to Valladolid, and swore allegiance to her as their lawful sovereign. Immediately afterwards a stage was erected at the entrance of the city; and there, on the 31st day of August, 1217,—near three months from the death of Enrique,—the queen, in presence of her barons, prelates, and people, solemnly resigned the sovereignty into the hands of her son, who was immediately proclaimed king of Castile.*

1217 to 1219. But FERNANDO III. was not yet in peaceable possession of the crown: he had to reduce the towns which held for don Alvaro, and, what was still worse, to withstand his father the king of Leon, who now invaded the kingdom. Aided by the party of that restless traitor, Alfonso aspired to the sovereignty: he marched on Burgos, which had just acknowledged his son, and, in opposition to the entreaties of the clergy—in all countries the uniform friends of legitimacy and order,—he laid waste the domains of that son's adherents. The Castilian nobles were not slow in combining for the defence of their king: they hastened to Burgos in such numbers, and were animated by such a spirit, that Alfonso, despairing of success, or touched by the more honourable feelings of nature and justice, desisted from his enterprise, and

* Chiefly the same authorities as last quoted; with the addition of Diego Lopez de Cortegano, Cronica del Santo Rey Don Fernando Tercero, i. 39

returned home. In his justification, however, it must not be forgotten that he could have no expectation, as he assuredly had not the wish, of ultimately injuring his son; as even in the event of his success, that son would still be the heir to both states. No doubt, he longed to acquire and to exercise an increase of power, and to relinquish it only when summoned by death: but, to his honour, he abandoned the attempt the moment he perceived the popularity of the new sovereign; and censured the officious countess, who, by representing to him the wish of Castile as unanimous in favour of his pretensions — for supposing his marriage with Berengaria to be valid, those pretensions were not without weight — had betrayed him into so odious an enterprise. Count Alvaro had already been made prisoner by a party of the royal forces; but released, on surrendering the fortified places which he held. Of this ill-judged clemency, Fernando had soon reason to repent, if the statements of a contemporary authority be founded in truth, — that he again appeared in arms, and again prevailed on the king of Leon to disturb the repose of Castile. However this be, it is certain that no actual hostilities took place a second time between father and son; and that the cause of all their commotions ended his unprincipled life in disgrace and poverty in 1219. One of his brothers fled to Africa.

Tranquillity being thus restored, the kings of Leon and Castile prepared to commence an exterminating war against the Mohammedans. The crusade was published by the archbishop Rodrigo, the celebrated historian; and the same indulgences granted to those who assumed the cross in Spain, as to those who visited the Holy Land. In pursuance of this act, a multitude from all parts of the peninsula assembled at Toledo. The result, however, by no means corresponded with the extent of the preparations. Neither of the kings took the field: Fernando appears to have been retained at home, in exterminating more formidable bands of robbers whom the late excesses called into activity, and in burning heretics. Though 1219 to 1230.

partial irruptions, generally attended with success, were made into the territories of the Moors from various parts, — from Aragon, Castile, Leon, and Portugal, — it was not until 1225 that the career of conquest commenced, which ended in the annihilation both of the African power, and of all the petty kingdoms which arose on its ruins. In that and the two following years, Murcia was invaded, Alhambra taken, and Jaen besieged, by Fernando; Valencia invaded by king Jayme of Aragon; Badajoz taken by Alfonso, and Elvas by the king of Portugal. The king of Castile was present before Jaen, which his armies had invested two whole years, when intelligence reached him of his father's death (in 1230), after a successful irruption into Estremadura.

1230. The inestimable advantage which this event was calculated to procure for Christian Spain,—the consolidation of two kingdoms often hostile to each other,—was near being lost. In his last will, Alfonso named his two daughters, — for the kingdom had long ceased to be elective, — joint heiresses of his states. The motives which could urge that sovereign to the repetition of an error so long and so fatally felt, we should vainly enquire: it may, however, be supposed that many nobles of the more ancient kingdom were unwilling to see it merged in the more modern though more powerful one of Castile. Fortunately for Spain, the majority of the Leonnese took a sounder view of their interests than Alfonso. — Leon, Astorga, Oviedo, Lugo, Mondoñedo, Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Coria, declared for Fernando. Though Compostella, Tuy, and Zamora espoused the cause of the infantas; and though the count Diego Dias attempted to strengthen their party even in Leon itself *

* Here the bishop of Tuy, a contemporary too, regales us with the relation of a miracle. The daring count, having penetrated with his armed followers into the cathedral of St. Isidro, was struck with so violent a headach by the offended saint, that his eyes appeared ready to start from their sockets; at the same moment the most acute pains tormented him in every part of his body. The penitent sinner immediately prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, confessed his crime, and asked both pardon and his cure. His prayer was granted; he arose perfectly well, made his due reverence to the idol, and from that instant abandoned the cause of the infantas.

by force of arms; nobles, clergy, and people were too numerous in favour of the king of Castile, to leave those princesses the remotest chance of success. No sooner did that prince hear how powerful a party supported his just pretensions, than he hastened from Andalusia into Leon. As he advanced, accompanied by his mother Berengaria, — a princess to whose wisdom he was indebted for most of his successes, — Avila, Medina del Campo, Tordesillas, and Toro opened their gates to him. Directing his course towards Leon, Villalon, Mayorga, and Mansilla imitated the example of the other towns. As he approached the capital, he was met by the bishops and clergy, the nobles, and the people of the greater portion of the kingdom, who escorted him in triumph to the cathedral, where he received their homage. Scarcely was this ceremony concluded, when he assembled troops in the view of proceeding towards Galicia, where the infantas with their mother Teresa had formed a party. Here, again, he was aided by the excellent Berengaria in a way far more agreeable to her heart, and that of his subjects, than by open force. That princess, having requested an interview with Teresa, proceeded to Valencia do Minho in Galicia. Here the world witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of two queens, both the wives of one man, and both equally the victims of an imaginary conjugal impediment, advocating the claims of their respective offspring. Teresa yielded to the justice or the power of her rival: in consideration of an annual pension secured to her two daughters, she renounced, in their name, all right to the crown of Leon; and the fortified places which held for the infantas were consequently surrendered into the hands of the king.*

* Cronica del Santo Rey Don Fernando Tercero, by Cortegano, 40—79. Annales Compostellani, p. 324. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxiii.). Anales Toledanos, i., Anales Toledanos, ii., et Anales Toledanos, iii. (apud eundem, et in eodem tomo, passim). Rodericus Toletanus, Rerum in Hispania Gestarum, necnon Lucas Tudensis, Chronicon Mundi (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. et iv. in ultimis paginis). Alonso el Sabio, Cronica de España, part iv. (sub propriis annis). Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. i. (in regno Don Jayme el Conquistador). Moret, Anales de Navarra

3. *United Crowns of Castile and Leon.*

1230—1516.

1230 to 1252. FERNANDO III., now lord of Spain from the Bay of Biscay to the vicinity of the Guadalquivir, and from the confines of Portugal to those of Aragon and Valencia, put into execution his long meditated schemes of conquest. Alfonso the emperor, indeed, somewhat more than a century preceding, had possessed an equal extent of territory; but at that time the Christian kings were not, as now, at peace with each other, nor animated by the same hope of success in their wars with the Mohammedans. How Fernando, in 1233, triumphed over Aben Hud, king of Murcia, Granada, Cordova, Merida, and Seville; how, from that year to 1248, he successively obtained possession of Toledo, Cordova, the whole of Murcia, Jaen, and Seville, have been related sufficiently at length on a former occasion.*

If we except these wars, there is little in the remainder of Fernando's life to occupy our attention. Being seized, the beginning of 1252, with a dropsy at Seville, he prepared for his approaching end by extraordinary acts of an austere devotion. His last advice to his son and successor Alfonso, on whom he strongly inculcated the eternal obligations of justice and mercy, did credit to him alike as a sovereign and a man. Having caused the ensigns of majesty to be removed from his presence, bid a tender adieu to his family and friends, and fortified himself for his great journey by the sacraments of the church, he breathed his last, May 30. 1252, amidst the lamentations of all Seville.

(in regno Don Sancho VI. tom. ii.). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. ii. liv. 12, 13. See also Abu Abdalla, Vestis Acu Picta, ubi suprà.

* Section i. chap. iii.

We here part with both Rodrigo Ximenes and Lucas of Tuy. Both histories end with the re-conquest of Cordova.

That he was a just, a pious, an able, and a paternal ruler, as well as a valiant soldier, is undoubted; but his justice sometimes degenerated into revenge; and his persecution of heretics—especially at Palencia, where, with his own royal hands, he condescended to set fire to the faggots on which they perished—proves either that his disposition was naturally cruel, or that the very demon of bigotry had smothered within him the best feelings of humanity. It was probably to this latter circumstance, more than to his prayers, his fasts, and his frequent use of the discipline, that, in 1671, he was canonised by Clement X.

ALFONSO X., surnamed *El Sabio*, or the Learned *, the eldest son of the deceased Fernando, ascended the thrones of Castile and Leon with every prospect of a happy reign, yet few were ever more unfortunate. 1252 to 1254.

The first design of Alfonso was to carry the war into Africa, in pursuance with his father's recent preparations; but he wisely desisted from the undertaking —whether from a just diffidence in his own powers, or from the imprudence of leaving his kingdoms exposed, during his absence, to the hostile inroads of his vassal, the king of Granada, is unknown. But he was not without ambition: if he abandoned one enterprise, it was only with the view of prosecuting another. He cast a longing eye on Gascony, then in the possession of our Henry III., which had been promised as a marriage portion to Alfonso of Castile, father of St. Fernando, but which had never been occupied by that sovereign. Its conquest by the English seemed to place it beyond the reach of the new king; but the arbitrary government of Henry's lieutenant, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, having indisposed against the English army Gaston count of Bearne, and Guido count of Limoges, the hopes of Alfonso were renewed. He entered into a league with the discontented barons, and supplied them with money for raising troops. Gaston was even enabled to invest Bayonne, but without effect: though

* Usually, but very improperly, termed the *Wise*.

aided by a considerable reinforcement from Alfonso, the Castilian cause lost ground, especially when Henry in person arrived in Gascony. But as the English monarch had assumed the cross, with the intention of visiting the Holy Land, and as he wished to pacify the province before his departure, he proposed, by his ambassadors, to marry his son Edward with Eleanor, sister of the Castilian king; and that the young prince should receive as dowry with her the absolute surrender of all the Castilian's rights over the disputed territory, together with the duchies of Ponthieu and Montreuil. The proposal was readily accepted by Alfonso; who, to unite the two crowns still closer, demanded Beatrix, a daughter of the Plantagenet, for one of his brothers. In pursuance with this treaty, Edward left Gascony, and was met at Burgos by Alfonso and the whole Castilian court. He was entertained with great magnificence by the king, at whose hands he received the honour of knighthood. The marriage was solemnised with great pomp, the end of October, 1254, in the monastery of the Huelgas. Edward soon after returned with his bride to England.

1254 to 1273. The pretensions of Alfonso over Suabia, to which he aspired in right of his mother Beatrix, daughter of Philip duke of Suabia and emperor of Germany, were not so satisfactorily settled: they led, indeed, to many of the misfortunes which afflicted his reign. His pretensions were at first supported by pope Alexander IV.; but as Suabia had already acknowledged Conradin, a prince of the imperial house of Frederic II., this interference was of no avail. Yet on the death of the emperor William, count of Holland, in 1256, and on the exclusion of Conradin as a candidate, the electors having resolved to make choice of a foreign prince, Alfonso aspired to the imperial dignity, and lavished his wealth for a purpose evidently unattainable. Though elected by one party, another and more powerful one gave their suffrages to Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to our Henry III.: in reality, neither election was

legitimate. Hence the contest which so long distracted Germany and Italy, and the sums which Alfonso exacted from his kingdoms to support the validity of his election. That he did not visit the scene of war in person, was owing to domestic troubles which will soon be noticed. In vain did he apply to four successive popes, Alexander, Urban, Clement, and Gregory, to pronounce in his favour. Those pontiffs were probably unwilling to decide in a case where temporal arms only could ultimately prevail: all, indeed, appear to have regarded with coolness the claim of the Castilian. On the death of his competitor in 1271, he felt sure that the great obstacle was removed, and that his labours and intrigues of fifteen years would now be rewarded. But Gregory X., like his predecessors, was hostile to the pretensions of one belonging to a house so odious as that of Frederic Barbarossa; and he charged the electors to pass over Alfonso, and proceed to the choice of another candidate. In 1273, that choice, as is well known, fell on Rodolph count of Hapsburg: it was all but unanimous, since Ottocar of Bohemia was the only member of the confederation who maintained the validity of the king of Castile's former election. The weakness of the last named prince must surely have equalled his vanity, when, instead of concurring in the decision of the empire, and the solemn sanction of Gregory, he continued to persecute that pontiff with his ill-founded claims; until Gregory, having lost all patience, ceased to treat him even with ordinary civility, and excommunicated his few adherents.*

* Chronicon Conimbricense, p. 338. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. xxiii.). Chronicon de Cardeña, p. 373. (in eodem tomo). Anales Toledanos, ii. (in eodem, p. 408.). Anales Toledanos, iii. passim (in eodem tomo). Rodericus Santius Episcopus Palentinus, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 1—4. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 83. Lucius Marineus Siculus, de Rebus Hispaniæ, lib vii. Franciscus Tarapha Canonicus Barcionensis, de Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 560. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno Don Jayme el Conquistador.) Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. iii. lib. 14. Also Abu Abdalla, Splendor Plenilunii (apud Casiri, Bibl. Arab. Hisp. tom. ii.); and Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. tom. iii.

1260 to 1272. It can be no matter of surprise that the states of Alfonso should murmur at his expensive follies, or that he should become somewhat unpopular with his subjects. Another complaint of his nobles was, that in marrying his natural daughter, Beatrix de Guzman, to Alfonso II. of Portugal, he had resigned to that prince the sovereignty of the Algarves. These circumstances were eagerly seized by some discontented barons, who, under the plea of the public good, formed a party intended to compel the king into wiser measures, but whose real objects were purely selfish. They were headed by the infante don Felipe, brother of Alfonso, and don Nuño Gonsalez de Lara, member of a house which seemed as if raised for no other purpose than to be the scourge of the kingdom. They were anxious to join in their views the kings of Navarre, Aragon, and Portugal; but failing in the attempt, they were more successful with Aben Alhamar, the king of Granada, who promised to make a diversion in their favour on the frontiers of Castile. Some time, indeed, elapsed before they proceeded to open rebellion, though they assembled in arms, first at Lara in 1270, and subsequently at Palencia. Instead of marching without a moment's loss of time to reduce them by force, the king had the weakness to treat with them. He promised, that if they would lay down their arms, and make their complaints known to him, he would endeavour to redress such as he should find reasonable. Of this fatal error he had soon reason to repent: it rendered the rebels more secure of impunity, and the more insolent in their demands. The very first which they made, — that he should raise a contribution on the towns and communities, to satisfy the losses which they themselves had sustained in his service, — showed that their patriotism was on a par with their loyalty. This was followed by a list of alleged grievances, the sum of which was, that the *fueros*, or privileges of the nobles, were sacrificed to please the people; that the military service required from them was too long continued; that their contri-

butions were too heavy, and too rigorously exacted by the royal collectors; and that they could not patiently submit to be judged by the king's magistrates forming the council of Castile: in other words, they claimed an exemption both from public contributions and from obedience to the laws, while they exercised a power at once rapacious and absolute over their own immediate vassals. That the insulted king did not immediately assemble his remaining adherents, and commence a war which should end only in the utter destruction of the rebels, must be attributed much more to his lamentable weakness of character than to their number and force. Instead of adopting measures becoming his station and the duty he owed his people, he promised that their grievances should be redressed. But their demands having risen with his imbecility and their own prospect of impunity, they refused to disarm until he had assembled the states at Burgos. On this point, too, he yielded: the cortes were accordingly convoked. Here the disaffected barons, being summoned to appear with the rest, refused to come, unless the king granted them a safe-conduct, and they might appear *in arms:* in other words, they intended to bear down all authority, by presenting a force capable of imposing on monarch and cortes. To admit armed men into a deliberative assembly would have been a novelty at all times startling; in the present case it might be still more apprehended: but the easy monarch, determined to sacrifice every thing for present peace, granted the demand. Before the assembled states, he caused the requisition of the malecontents to be repeated, with his own royal concession on every point. New demands were made, as unreasonable in themselves as they were insulting to the king. Strange to say, these too were conceded, one only excepted, — the duty on foreign merchandise, — which he would not consent to abandon; and stranger still, that seeing the great body of the cortes in his favour, he did not propose the capital punishment or the perpetual exile of the rebels. It was, doubtless, this

preponderating majority—this, in fact, all but unanimity in the states—that prevented the audacious faction from proceeding to some violence; perhaps to laying hands on the royal person.

1272 to 1274. The unexpected facility with which these concessions were made, surprised the rebels themselves, and reduced them to silence. They retired to the villages in the neighbourhood of Burgos, whence they requested permission from the king to retire each to his post—that is, to their fortresses, where they might concert other means of annoyance. In vain did he endeavour, by frequent messengers, to procure their reconciliation with him: replying that they would listen to no proposals, they proceeded to the Tierra de Campos. After some deliberation, seeing the hopelessness of contending, under present circumstances, with one whom they were resolved not to obey, they agreed to forsake the kingdom, and to take up their abode with the king of Granada. It will almost appear incredible to the reader, that, instead of congratulating himself on being thus fortunately rid of these turbulent rebels, Alfonso should again have deputed several of his confidential nobles to them, and besought them, with as much humility as if they alone formed the support of his throne, to return and be reconciled with him! They turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties, and repaired to the court of Granada; where, however, they had still grace enough left to request from Aben Alhamar, who received them with open arms, that he would not employ them against their own country. They remained at the Mohammedan court about two years, from 1272 to 1274; nor would they return to Castile, though repeatedly urged by the king and queen, until not only they were promised a restoration of their past dignities, but the concession of the most important points they had demanded. With the same success did they insist on peace for their friend the Moorish king. In short, they found that open rebellion was the readiest and

surest way to the attainment of their wishes,—a lesson which, as we shall soon see, they were in no hurry to forget.*

During the absence of Alfonso, in 1275, on a fruitless visit to pope Gregory, then in France, respecting his pretensions to the empire, and during the existence of hostilities with the Moors both of Spain and Africa, died the infante Fernando de la Cerda, eldest son of Alfonso, and consequently heir to the united crowns of Leon and Castile. This event gave rise to disputes concerning the succession. By the Roman law, the two sons of the deceased prince stood the nearest in relation to the throne; but by that of the Wisigoths the more immediate proximity of the second son was recognised. To decide on this important subject—whether Spain should follow her own ancient institutions in this respect, or adopt that of other states—the cortes, in 1276, were convoked at Segovia. That body decided that immediate proximity ought to prevail over representation; in other words, that the second son, as being but one degree removed from the father, should be preferred to the grandsons, who were but the representatives of the eldest son, and were two degrees distant: the infante don Sancho was accordingly proclaimed successor to the throne. The popularity, however, of Sancho, who had distinguished himself in the wars with the Moors, and the tender age of the two sons of Fernando, had probably more weight in the question than either law or custom. That Alfonso himself, who was no mean jurist, was not ignorant of the legitimate laws of succession, is evident from his having transferred from the Justinian code into his Siete Partidas the very law on this subject in operation in ancient Rome, and in the modern kingdoms of Europe. The decision of the cortes appears to have given umbrage to Philip of France, whose sister Blanche was the widow of the deceased Fernando,

1275 to 1280.

* Chiefly the same authorities as last quoted. The Chronicle of Alfonso X., which we have been unable to consult, seems, from the quotations of Ferreras, to be very severe on the character and actions of that prince.

and the elder of whose nephews he justly regarded as the rightful successor to Alfonso. That prince demanded his sister's dowry, which the Castilian king refused to return; and permission for the princess Blanche and her children to pass into France, which he likewise refused to grant. The princess, however, with the infantes and the queen of Alfonso, who beheld their exclusion with indignation, effected their escape from Burgos, and were received by the king of Aragon. War was now declared by France against Castile, but prevented from exploding by the interference of pope Nicholas III. In the sequel (in 1278) the queen of Castile returned to her husband, but Blanche proceeded to the court of her brother; the two infantes were retained in Aragon, less from motives of humanity or of justice, than from a view to embarrass the Castilian government whenever the opportunity should arrive. The worst feature of these transactions is one, however, that is wrapt in some obscurity. That prince Fadrique was put to death by order of his own brother, Alfonso, is undoubted; and there appears reason to conclude that the cause was the implication of the infante in the flight of Blanche, her children, and the Castilian queen. The national writers would fain believe that there were also other motives for this damning deed, but they can assign none: the way, too, in which that deed was perpetrated — the prince being secretly strangled, in his own palace at Burgos, by hired assassins — must cover the memory of Alfonso with everlasting infamy.

1281 to 1284. To satisfy the continued expostulations of France respecting the rights of the infantes de la Cerda, in the cortes held at Seville in 1281, Alfonso seriously proposed to dismember Murcia from his crown in favour of those princes. The proposal filled don Sancho with so much indignation that he refused to attend the sittings. Another act of this weak monarch was no less condemned by his people: he debased the coin of the realm, yet decreed that it should preserve its former value. Then some arbitrary exactions and some vin-

dictive acts of persecution towards obnoxious individuals; his petulancy of temper, which increased with his years; his intolerable rapaciousness; rendered him at once odious and contemptible. The discontented barons and deputies cast their eyes on Sancho, from whom alone they could expect justice. Seeing the almost universal disaffection of the people, this prince aspired to wrest the sceptre from the feeble hands which held it. Whoever condescends to flatter the multitude, will be sure to meet with success: whoever magnifies their real or sympathizes with their imaginary grievances, will command their attention. While his emissaries gained over to his cause the chief towns of Leon and Galicia, he himself drew over to his party Toledo, Cordova, Ubeda, Jaen, and most of the towns of Andalusia. He now proceeded to Valladolid, the rendezvous for his adherents, where, in 1282, the infante don Manuel, brother of Alfonso, proposed that he should be proclaimed king. The regal title, however, he refused to accept, and contented himself with those of heir and regent: so that he exercised the sovereign power, he cared not under what name. In vain did the king endeavour to pacify the rebel, by proposing to satisfy all his demands: in vain did he apply to the kings of Portugal, Navarre, and Aragon — Sancho had secured the neutrality of all these, and had, besides, obtained more than neutral favour from the king of Granada. Hopeless of succeeding in Spain, he next applied to the king of Morocco, who readily undertook the part of a parent against a rebellious child; and he solicited the pope to excommunicate his revolted subjects. At first the pope merely wrote to the grand masters of Santiago and Calatrava, exhorting them to effect a reconciliation between the parties. Amidst this universal defection, seeing that Badajoz and Seville were the only important places which remained in their allegiance, while the rest of the kingdom eagerly acknowledged Sancho, the incensed king assembled, in 1283, his few remaining adherents in Seville; and in a solemn act, he not only disinherited but imprecated his

deepest maledictions on the head of his rebellious son. In the same act he instituted the infantes de la Cerda as his heirs; and in default of their issue, the kings of France. This declaration, however solemn, was a mere *brutum fulmen:* he who had not been obeyed in life, could scarcely expect to be regarded after death. The pope now interfered more effectually in behalf of Alfonso, threatening the adherents of Sancho with excommunication unless they immediately returned to their duty; and at the same time placing an interdict on the kingdom. The clergy were the first to forsake their error: their example was followed by many of the barons and cities of the realm. Though the troops of the African king had returned home in disgust, the cause of Alfonso acquired strength from day to day: his other sons, who had taken part with Sancho, returned to him; nay, even Sancho himself, seeing the revolutions in the opinions of men, made overtures of reconciliation. That such a reconciliation would have been effected, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of some wicked courtiers about the prince, seems certain; but Sancho suddenly fell sick, and was conveyed to Salamanca. Whatever might be the failings of Alfonso, he was not deficient in natural affection: no sooner did he hear of the rebel's situation, than his indignation vanished for ever, and he courted retirement, that he might weep, without incurring reproval from his attendants, over the repentance and the danger of his son. So much affected, indeed, was he by the event, that anxiety threw him into a worse state than that of Sancho. The latter was soon out of danger; but the king grew worse, until the 5th day of April, 1284, when he breathed his last. He did not, however, revoke his last will.

The character of Alfonso must be sufficiently apparent from his actions. It may be added, that his acquirements were of a very superior order. The Astronomical Tables which he composed, and which are called by his name, have been often adduced as proofs of his

science. It is, however, certain, that in their construction he was greatly indebted to the Moorish astronomers of Granada, some of whom visited his court for the express purpose of superintending, if not of calculating them. That he had a hand in the composition of the Chronicle which also bears his name, is no less undoubted; but we should vainly attempt to ascertain the portion issuing from his own pen. In the compilation of the Laws of the Partidas from the Justinian and Wisigothic Codes, he had also a share,—how large a one must in like manner remain for ever unknown.* On the whole, it may be said of him, that, like our James I., he was an extraordinary instance of weakness and learning. Of his vanity, the well known saying has been often adduced,—that if he had been consulted at the creation of the world, he could have advised some things for the better. If this saying were really uttered—which there are strong reasons to doubt†—it is probable that the king had no blasphemous intention in view, but that he was merely ridiculing the then received system of Ptolemy. His transactions with the Moors have been already noticed.‡

Notwithstanding the testamentary exclusion of his eldest son by the late king, the states of the kingdom lost no time in recognising SANCHO IV. Equally inef- 1284 to 1288.

* See the last chapter of the present book, which treats of the laws of Spain.

Other works composed by Alfonso, or at least ascribed to him, may be found in the well known Bibliotheca of Nicholas Antonio.

† Mondejar is at some pains to disprove the authority on which the reputed blasphemy rests: he is doubtless right: Alfonso was no blasphemer. It is, however, certain that he was reputed one; if not in his times, at least in the age succeeding. Zurita (iv. 47.) alludes to it; but the most curious authority on the subject will be found in Appendix L.

‡ Chronicon de Cardeña (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xxiii 379.). Chronicon Dni. Joannis Emmanuelis (apud eundem, ii. 215.). Anales Toledanos, iii. passim (apud eundem, tom. xxiii.). Chronicon de Don Alfonso el Sabio (as quoted by Ferreras, tom. iv. passim). Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 5. This superstitious writer is very severe on the blasphemy and supernatural punishment of Alfonso—(see Appendix L). Alfonsus a Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 84. Franciscus Tarapha, de Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 561. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno Don Pedro III.). Moret, Anales de Navarra, lib. xxiii. et xxiv. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. ii. liv. 14. Also Abu Abdalla, Splendor Plenilunii (apud Casiri, Bibl. Arab.-Hisp. tom. ii.); Condé, by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination, &c. tom. iii.; with many others.

fectual were the efforts of the infante don Juan, brother of the new king, to seize on Seville, to which, in virtue of the same testament, he laid his claim. Neither that city nor the states, both wiser than the deceased monarch, would sanction the dismemberment of the kingdom.

During his father's lifetime, though in opposition to that father's wishes, Sancho had married his cousin, doña Maria de la Molina, without being able to obtain the necessary dispensation from the pope. When, in 1286, that queen was delivered of a son, his anxiety to get the legitimacy of his marriage, and, consequently, that of his child sanctioned, naturally increased: he dreaded the pretensions of the infantes de la Cerda, who were still protected by the kings of Aragon and of France; but the pope continued inexorable. Equally fruitless were his negotiations with Alfonso III. of the former kingdom, to obtain possession of the two princes. Internal troubles soon added to his perplexities; and, as usual, these troubles arose from the very men who had experienced the greatest share of the royal bounty. To Lope Dias de Haro, who had rendered him some service on a former occasion, he confided the superintendence of the finances; he made him a count,—a dignity not yet common in the kingdom,—and married his daughter to the infante don Juan, thus closely connecting him with the royal family. The haughtiness of the new favourite soon rendered him odious to nobles and people, who complained to the king. No sooner did he perceive that he had lost ground in the confidence of his royal master, than, with his son-in-law the infante, he retired to the Portuguese frontier; whence, in conformity with the lawless manners of the times, both made frequent inroads into the territories of Sancho. Being summoned to make known the cause of his dissatisfaction, he appeared in arms, and had the insolence to inform the king that the only cause was his own will and pleasure. Sancho dissembled; but resolved from that moment to seize the persons both of the count and his brother. In a council convoked at Alfaro, in 1288, to consider of the

propriety of leaguing with Aragon or with France, which were then at variance owing to the Sicilian war *, both repaired, accompanied, as usual, by many armed followers, to overawe alike king and council. Addressing both in the midst of the prelates and barons, Sancho said — "Here you shall remain prisoners until you restore my fortresses!" The count drew his sword, and made towards the king; whether with the intention of really striking his sovereign, or only of effecting his escape, is doubtful. At the same moment don Juan also drew his weapon, and wounded two of the barons who attempted to obstruct his passage. The royal guards now gathered before the king: one soldier cut off the right hand of don Lope; another struck him on the head with a mace, and laid him dead on the ground. The same fate would probably have befallen the infante, had he not sought the protection of the queen, who was also present. The fortresses held by both were restored to the crown.

The death of don Lope did not restore tranquillity to the state. His widow, though sister to the queen, invited her eldest son, don Diego de Haro, to revenge the death of the count. Being joined by his uncle of the same name, the latter repaired into Aragon, whose king was discontented with that of Castile. To embarrass the latter still more, Alfonso, the eldest of the infantes de la Cerda, was released from prison, and proclaimed king of Castile and Leon. In return for this support, Alfonso engaged to resign Murcia, many fortresses of which were already in the hands of the king of Aragon, to that ally. Both monarchs immediately armed, and a desultory warfare ensued, which had no other effect than that of harassing the Castilians, of impeding the administration of justice, and of draining the kingdom alike of money and troops. Weary of this vexatious struggle, and distracted by the partial insurrections which from time to time broke out in different parts of his realm, Sancho, in an interview with the king of France, in 1290, agreed to abandon Murcia 1288 to 1295.

* See the history of Aragon.

to Alfonso; retaining over it, however, the feudal superiority. But this compact led to no result: the war still continued, until 1291; when, by bestowing the hand of his daughter Isabel on Jayme II. king of Aragon, he obtained rather a suspension of hostilities than peace. If to these harassing wars we add the alternate rebellion and submission of that perpetual curse of Spain, the family of the Laras; and the perversity of the infante don Juan, who was generally laying waste the frontiers on the side of Galicia and Portugal, until Dionis, the king of the latter country, expelled him, and forced him, as before related, to seek refuge in Africa; we may readily infer that Sancho's case was no exception to a rule which the great dramatic poet drew from human experience, —

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

This king died in 1295, leaving the guardianship of his eldest son, Fernando, then only nine years of age, and the regency of his kingdom, to his queen.*

1295. The reign of FERNANDO IV. was one continued succession of disasters. Scarcely had he received the homage of the states, when his uncle, the restless Juan, who had taken refuge with the king of Granada, called in question his legitimacy, and laid claim to the crown. At the same time Diego Lopez de Haro, who, towards the close of the late reign, had made an attempt in Biscay, and failed, again invaded that province, the government of which he considered as belonging by right to his family. Dionis, the king of Portugal, armed to obtain three frontier fortresses, — Serpia, Mora, and Moron; and the king of Granada followed or set the example, in the hope of procuring similar advantages.

* Chronicon Conimbricense (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xxiii. 389.). Chronicon de Cardeña (apud eundem, xxiii. 380.). Anales Toledanos, iii. (in eodem tomo, p. 412, 413.). Cronica del Rey Don Sancho IV. (as quoted by Ferreras, tom. iv. passim). Chronicon Dni. Joannis Emmanuelis, p. 216. (apud Florez, tom. ii.). This royal historian, a son of Alfonso el Sabio, who played so conspicuous a part in the events of his time, takes care not to criminate himself. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 561. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 85. p. 283. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 6. et 7. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regnis Don Alfonso III. et Jayme II.). Moret, Anales de Navarra, lib. xxv.

Nor did the measures, however well intended, which the queen adopted in this emergency, improve the face of her affairs. To make head against don Diego, she commissioned two nobles of the house of Lara to raise troops, and march towards Biscay; and delivered the necessary sums of money for that purpose. The two traitors, characteristically enough, received the money, professed the utmost devotion to the royal cause, assembled the troops required, and — joined the rebel. To increase her perplexities, the infante Enrique, who, in 1258, had rebelled against his brother Alfonso el Sabio, and retired to Tunis; who had afterwards passed into Italy, and returned into Spain in 1286; resolved to deprive her of the regency. In the cortes held at Valladolid soon after Fernando's accession, he had address enough to procure a share, at least, of the direction of affairs, but not the guardianship of the prince. He seems to have been a kind of co-regent with doña Maria.

In the mean time the infante don Juan appeared be- 1296.
fore Badajoz, which he summoned to acknowledge him, but in vain. He now entered into an alliance with the Portuguese king, who, in the view of deriving advantage from the troubles of the kingdom, espoused his cause. To disarm the latter, the queen abandoned to him the three fortresses which he coveted, and which, indeed, had been possessed by his crown. Through the entreaties of Enrique, and, more still, through the offer of a government in Galicia, even Juan himself, being thus forsaken by his royal ally, did homage to Fernando. The rebel of Biscay and the Laras were pacified by similar sacrifices. To procure peace within, the queen, who was permitted to act in the king's name, though not, as may be supposed, without the concurrence of Enrique, lavished money and governments, and rewarded rebellion with riches and dignities. Such policy had its natural effect: no sooner were the nobles in possession of what they had long coveted, than, with the view of acquiring more, they again conspired against

the state. The very year following this strange pacification (in 1296), Alfonso de la Cerda, who again renewed his pretensions to the Castilian crown, had no difficulty in prevailing on don Juan de Lara to revolt, and even to draw the infante of that name into his party. The two princes agreed on a division of the kingdom: that the infante Juan should have Galicia, Leon, and Seville; and Alfonso, Castile; while the king of Aragon should seize Murcia. This iniquitous league the kings of France, Portugal, and Granada were not ashamed to sanction. It seemed, indeed, as if the fate of Fernando were sealed, and as if his dominions were inevitably to be parcelled out among the combined robbers; but in human affairs there is a providence which often brings to naught the schemes of an unprincipled ambition.

1296 to 1301. In accordance with the preceding treaty, don Juan was proclaimed king of Leon in the very capital; and Alfonso, at Sahagun, king of Castile. Their combined forces, aided by some Aragonese troops, laid siege to Mayorga, which they hoped to reduce previous to investing Burgos. At the same time the king of Portugal invaded Castile, by Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca; and Mohammed of Granada spread his ravages into Andalusia. The dissensions of the allies, and the want of money, if not of provisions, felt by the besiegers of Mayorga, saved the kingdom. The siege was raised; the Aragonese, with Alfonso, returned; the Portuguese king, thus abandoned, did the same, but seized several fortresses on his march homewards; and though the king of Aragon, on another side, rapidly seized on the whole of Murcia, except Lorca, Alcala, and Mula, he was prevented from pursuing his conquests by the offers of the pope, who drew him into the Sicilian war. Portugal was soon afterwards induced to make peace with the kingdom; and even to enter into a permanent alliance, cemented by the marriage of Fernando with the princess Constanza, daughter of Dionis; and of the prince of Portugal with the infanta Beatrix, sister of the

Castilian king. Still Alfonso de la Cerda, whose incursions were fatal to the eastern frontiers, and the infante don Juan, remained; and their hostilities were feebly met by the infante Enrique, who, whenever his services were required, never failed to extort whatever he pleased from the queen. Avaricious, — insatiably so, — perfidious, turbulent, and cruel, he proved a greater scourge to his country than any of its foreign enemies. Thus, when the states assembled at Valladolid, in 1300, voted the queen considerable supplies for opposing the enemy, he contrived to grasp the greater portion of it for his own private purposes. Become the most unpopular man in the monarchy, not even excepting the infante Juan, who, being deserted by Dionis, at length submitted to the lawful king; and fearing that he should be deprived by the cortes of the trust he had so shamefully abused; he leagued himself, now with the Aragonese king, now with Alfonso de la Cerda, according to his caprice or avarice. He was but too well assisted by the infante Juan: even after the arrival of the bulls of legitimacy, granted in 1301, by the pope, neither ceased to plot against Fernando. Fortunately, however, their very perversity neutralised their intrigues; since they were faithless alike to every party they embraced.

The anxieties of the queen-mother had always been cutting, but maternal affection had borne them without repining. She was now to experience a pang inconceivably keener than any which had hitherto afflicted her: that son, for whose welfare she had watched and suffered with a devotion unequalled, and a constancy truly heroic, was taught by the two infantes, not only to distrust her as one who aimed at keeping him in perpetual subjection, but to escape from her protection, and surrender himself to his unprincipled advisers: nay, on more than one occasion he studiously insulted her, by encouraging suspicions injurious to her integrity in the administration of the national finances. But nothing, not even filial ingratitude, could cool either the affection or the zeal of this princess, who believed — probably with reason — 1301 to 1305.

that the undutiful conduct of her son was owing to a misled imagination rather than a depraved heart. On the death of Enrique, in 1304, whose last action was to form an alliance against his sovereign with the king of Aragon, there appeared a prospect of happier times, especially when in the following year that king himself consented, not only to concede some places in Murcia, but to withdraw his support from the infantes de la Cerda. In consideration of ample revenues arising from the seignory of several villages, Alfonso, on that occasion, resigned the regal title.

1305 to 1312. But the troubles of Fernando were to end only with his life. During the remainder of his reign, he was continually at war with his revolted barons; and seldom did he succeed in reducing them by force to obedience: his gold did more than his arms. In so little fear, indeed, was he held, that his nobles not unfrequently made war on each other, disregarding his expostulations, and submitting only when it was their present interest to do so. Of the kingly dignity he had nothing but the name. The most turbulent and faithless of these barons was his uncle Juan, whose whole life exhibited continual alternations of rebellion and of purchased submission. To detail these, or the other interminable dissensions of this reign, would afford neither pleasure nor instruction to any reader; they were but a repetition of those already noticed. Fernando's death was premature and sudden: if any faith is to be put in ancient chroniclers, it was no less extraordinary. During an expedition into Andalusia against the Moors, rumour accused two brothers of Martos, both cavaliers, of having assassinated one of the king's barons. Without taking the trouble to enquire into the circumstances, and in spite of their solemn asseveration of innocence, the king ordered both to be put to death. Seeing no hope of justice at his hands, they are said to have cited him to appear with them, in thirty days, before the judgment-seat of God. However this be, he was found dead on his couch, on which he was taking his siesta, September 17th, 1312.

During the reign of this prince, the Templars sustained their famous accusation. In the supposition that those of Castile were no less guilty than their brethren of France, the pope, in 1308, ordered their possessions to be sequestrated: the same fate attended them in Aragon. The people's indignation,—no very accurate criterion, however, of guilt,—was so strong against them, that they were glad to take refuge in any fortress. They loudly demanded a fair trial, which was at length granted them. For this purpose a provincial council was held in 1310 at Salamanca; where, after a long, a patient, and apparently an impartial investigation, they were solemnly absolved from all the charges brought against them, and declared true knights and catholic Christians. This honourable testimony in their favour, however, availed them little; since the suppression of their order was decreed the following year throughout the catholic world. That some—numerically speaking, many—of this order were actually guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, rests on evidence too strong to be shaken; but why the whole community should suffer for the few, has never been explained. Popular prejudice seldom discriminates; but if the vulgar be too dull or too malignant to separate innocence from guilt, there is no excuse for the more enlightened. The riches of these knights, much more than their reputed vices, occasioned their condemnation.*

As Alfonso XI., the only son of the deceased king, was only a few months old on his accession to the throne, the state was again thrown into a long series of convulsions through the ambition of its barons. The first disputes were between the infantes Juan and Pedro 1312 to 1319.

* Chronicon Dni. Joannis Emmanuelis, p. 216, 217 (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. ii.). Cronica del muy valoroso Rey Don Fernando, passim. Chronicon Conimbricense (apud Florez, xxiii. 339.). Chronicon de Cardeña (apud eundem, xxiii. 380.). Anales Toledanos, iii. (in eodem, passim). Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 889. This writer relates and believes the heavenly citation. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, p. 284. Franciscus Tarapha, de Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 562. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno Don Jayme II.). Moret, Anales de Navarra, lib. xxvii. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. iv. liv. 15.

—the latter uncle, the former grand uncle, of Alfonso—and don Juan de Lara, for the wardship of the royal child. Each, as usual, endeavoured to strengthen his party over the cities which returned deputies to the cortes. To frustrate the views of all three, the queen Maria consigned the charge of the royal infant to the bishop and people of Avila, who placed him under a strong guard in the tower of the cathedral. In the cortes of Palencia, in 1313, convoked expressly for the purpose of determining in whose hands the regency should be vested, one portion of the deputies voted for Maria and the infante Pedro; another for Constanza the queen-mother, and the infante Juan. The two princes had recourse to arms in support of their respective claims: after many months of continued hostilities, attended with various success, they agreed, at the instance of doña Maria, to divide the government between them. This policy,—the only one that could be prudently adopted in the critical circumstances of the time,—was sanctioned by the states of Madrid in 1315.

It could not, however, be expected that a good understanding would long subsist between the two regents. The laurels which Pedro won against the Moors excited the jealousy of the elder infante, who was more anxious to frustrate the success of his coadjutor, than to humble the enemy. It required all the influence of the prudent queen Maria (Constanza was no more), and all the representations of the assembled states, to preserve harmony between them. The death of both in 1319, in the battle of Granada, has been already related.*

1319 to 1324. The death of the two infantes was followed by new struggles for the regency. It was at length seized by the infante don Felipe, uncle of the king, and by don Juan Manuel, also of the royal family, and one of the most powerful barons of the realm; and the usurpation was confirmed by the states of Burgos in 1320. Another don Juan, surnamed *el Tuerto*, or the Crooked, son of the restless infante of that name, disappointed at his

* See Section I. Chap. III. of the present volume.

exclusion from the regency, took up arms to obtain the object of his ambition. Fernando de la Cerda, steward of the royal household, did the same. Of the facility with which the great towns could be made to give their suffrages in favour of any candidate, Burgos affords us sufficient proof. First, Juan el Tuerto requested the vote of the council and people; they swore on the holy Gospels to acknowledge him alone. Immediately afterwards, Fernando de la Cerda presented himself before the same body, and obtained the same oaths. In this state of things we should vainly look for order, much less for prosperity: the laws were disregarded; the worst crimes were too common to create surprise;—the inevitable results of any government where the executive power is suspended or relaxed.* To allay these troubles, a pontifical legate arrived, and, by means of the prelates and cortes, succeeded in re-establishing something like tranquillity; but after his departure, and especially after the death of the old queen Maria, they broke out with renewed violence. Again did civil war, commenced by the ambition of the regents, who each aspired to the sole authority, and sustained by the fickle populace, desolate these fine regions.

When, in 1324, Alfonso summoned the cortes at 1324.
Valladolid, and assumed the reins of sovereignty, hopes were naturally entertained that rebellion would cease, and tranquillity, if not happiness, revisit the realm: they were lamentably deceived by the sequel of events. The first who troubled the state were Juan Manuel and Juan el Tuerto; who, discontented with their loss of power, conspired to regain it. To dissolve this confederacy, the king had recourse to a rare expedient: knowing that the latter was to marry doña Constanza, daughter of the former, he demanded and obtained that lady for himself. The marriage was celebrated at Burgos. It was, however, never consummated; owing chiefly to the continued depravity of Juan Manuel. In 1327,

* "Causa rubor aun la simple relacion de unos hechos que prueban la suma inconstancia y volubilidad de aquellas gentes."—*Ortiz*, iv. 312.

it was dissolved; the lady was shut up in the fortress of Toro, but soon restored to her father; and Alfonso was married, the following year, to the princess Maria of Portugal.

1324 to 1338. Though abandoned by his ally, Juan el Tuerto resolved to make head against the king, by fortifying himself with the alliance of Aragon and Portugal. He rejected the overtures of Alfonso, who was willing to make any sacrifices for the restoration of tranquillity. Seeing him thus obstinate in rebellion, the king resorted to an expedient which might have created little surprise in a Turkish ruler, but must cover a Christian knight with everlasting disgrace. Being at Toro in 1325, he despatched a messenger to that baron, urging him in the strongest terms to an amicable interview; and, to overcome all reluctance on the part of the latter, offered to confer on him the hand of the princess Leonora, sister of the king. Juan no longer hesitated to go: he was received with extraordinary signs of respect by Alfonso. The day after his arrival, he was invited to an entertainment: the moment he entered the royal apartments, he was stabbed by the assassins whom Alfonso had engaged for the purpose. Biscay, of which the seigniory had belonged to the victim, was the reward of this foul deed. This transaction made a deep impression on Juan Manuel. Dreading the same fate, he not only refused to visit the king, but entered into an alliance with Mohammed IV. of Granada. The insult offered both to himself and his daughter in the approaching marriage of the king with the Portuguese princess, deepened his spirit of revenge. In 1328, he assembled his followers, and made a destructive inroad into the very heart of Castile: he was powerfully assisted by a diversion in his favour made by the troops of Aragon. Even when deprived of the aid hitherto afforded him by the latter sovereign, who married the sister of Alfonso, he not the less persevered in his implacable hostility. By force or intrigues he had obtained possession of some strong fortresses, from which

he could securely defy the power of his sovereign, and levy contributions on the open towns. This desultory warfare, as vexatious to the king as it was inglorious, continued for years, notwithstanding the attempts at reconciliation made both by Alfonso's immediate emissaries, and by the agents of the pope. Don Juan was often aided by other discontented lords, such as the Laras, who rebelled on the slightest pretext, and returned to obedience only when purchased by their sovereign. Being forsaken in 1334 by one of his best supporters, a baron of that rebellious house, he himself, the following year, accepted the royal offers, and condescended to return to his duty on the condition of his daughter Constanza being given in marriage to the prince of Portugal, — a marriage which was effected in the course of the same year. But neither don Juan Manuel nor his brother rebel of Lara, could long remain at peace with their sovereign. Scarcely had they renewed their homage to Alfonso, when they formed a new league, and the civil war recommenced. The accession to their cause of the Portuguese king, enabled them to inflict great ravages on the kingdom. Alfonso opposed them with great vigour: while his generals forced the Lusitanian to raise the siege of Badajoz, he himself reduced Lerma, which was defended by don Juan de Lara, who submitted; and about the same time Juan Manuel precipitately retreated into Aragon. In 1338, the latter again returned to his duty; and though always a disaffected subject, he did not again break out into open rebellion.

As the transactions of Alfonso with the Moors of Spain and Africa, — the most striking events of his reign, — have been already detailed*, little more remains to occupy the reader's attention. His amours, however, with doña Leonora de Guzman, ought not to be passed over in silence; since they are connected with the worst acts of his successor. This lady, who belonged to one of the most illustrious houses of Spain, he first saw at 1338 to 1350.

* See Section I. Chapter III.

Seville, in 1330, and became deeply enamoured of her. A widow at eighteen years of age, she had not virtue to resist the royal lover: she sacrificed her pride of birth, the honour of her family, her reputation and peace of mind, to the vanity of pleasing, or to the ambition of ruling, a monarch. From that moment she became the constant attendant of Alfonso; nor could the reproaches of his queen, the admonitions of the clergy, including even the pope himself, nor the indignant remonstrances of the queen's brother, the Portuguese king, prevail on him to dissolve the connection: it continued unimpaired to the close of his life. The issue of this adulterous intercourse were numerous, and, as we shall soon see, unfortunate. Of his legitimate children, his successor alone survived him. He died of the plague, before Gibraltar, in 1350.*

1350 to 1351. On the accession of PEDRO, surnamed the *Cruel*, then only in his sixteenth year, Leonora de Guzman, dreading his resentment, or rather that of the queen-mother, retired to the city of Medina-Sidonia, which formed her appanage. Through the perfidious persuasions, however, of a Lara and an Albuquerque, who governed the mind of Pedro, and who pledged their knightly faith that she had nothing to fear, she proceeded to Seville to do homage to the new sovereign. No sooner did she reach that city, than she was arrested and placed under a guard in the Alcazar. The eldest of her sons, Enrique, who was permitted to visit her there, would have shared the same fate, had he not precipitately retreated from the capital. From Seville she was soon

* Villasan, Cronica del Muy Esclarecido Principe y Rey Don Alfonso el Onzeno, passim. Chronicon Dni. Joannis Emmanuelis, 218—222. (apud Florez, España Sagrada, tom. ii.). Anales Toledanos, iii. (apud eundem, xxiii. passim). Chronicon Conimbricense (in eodem, p. 399—344.). Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 87. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 562. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 10—13. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). This last writer makes Alfonso predict the depravity of his son:—"Doleo acerbissime talem vobis relinquere hæredem et dominum, qui meliorem vobis filium dimisisse optarem." Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regnis Don Jayme II., Don Alfonso IV., et Don Pedro IV.). Moret, Anales de Navarra, lib. xxviii. cap. 1—3., and lib. xxix. cap 1—7. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. iv. liv. 16, 17.

transferred to Carmona; and if her life was spared a few months, it was not owing to the forbearance, but to the indisposition of the king, which was at one time so dangerous as to render his recovery hopeless. Unfortunately for Spain, he did recover; and one of his first objects, early in 1351, was to draw her from Carmona, and make her accompany him to Talavera, where she was consigned to a still closer confinement. Her doom was soon sealed: in a few days she was put to death by the express order of the queen; no doubt, with the concurrence of the king.

This murder was quickly followed by another. Having despatched one of his creatures to Burgos, to levy, by his own authority alone, a tax which, to be legal, required the sanction of the states, the people resisted, and slew his collector. Accompanied by his unscrupulous adviser, don Juan de Albuquerque, he hastened to that capital, to inflict summary vengeance on the inhabitants. They naturally took up arms; and being joined by Garcilasso de la Vega, the adelantado * of Castile, sent a messenger to the king, disclaiming all wish to oppose his authority, but beseeching him not to allow Albuquerque, whose violent character they well knew, to attend him. The request was disregarded; the count arrived, and the doom of Garcilasso was sealed. With the view of averting the deed, the queen intimated to him that, on receiving an invitation to wait on the king, he would do well to escape. Unconscious, however, of any crime, and unwilling by his refusal to encourage suspicion of his loyalty, he repaired to the palace. No sooner did Pedro perceive him, than the command was given: "Ballasteros †, seize Garcilasso!" The adelantado begged for a confessor; but no attention would have been paid to the request, had not a priest accidentally appeared in sight. Both having retired for a few minutes into a corner, Albuquerque, who bore great en- 1351.

* For the dignity and functions of this officer, see the last chapter of the present book.

† A sort of men-at-arms, whose usual weapon was a short club, or mace.

mity to the prisoner, desired the king to order what was to be done, and the ballasteros were immediately told to kill Garcilasso. On receiving the order, the men, who could not conceive it was seriously given, hesitated to fulfil it: one of them, approaching the king, said, "Sir king, what are we to do with Garcilasso?"—"Kill him!" was the reply. The man returned, and with a mace struck the adelantado on the head, while another associate despatched him. The bleeding body was thrown into the street; where after lying for some time to be trodden under foot by some bulls which were passing, it was removed outside the walls of the city, to be there buried. The same fate would have befallen the child Nuño de Lara, who by his father's death was become the hereditary lord of Biscay, had not his governess, apprised of the intention, removed to a fortress in the heart of the Biscayan mountains. The child, however, soon died; and Pedro, by imprisoning the female heirs, obtained what he so much coveted — the rich domains of that house.

1352. Having held the states at Valladolid, where he ineffectually endeavoured to procure the abolition of the behetrias*, Pedro proceeded to Ciudad Rodrigo, to confer on the interests of the two kingdoms with his grandfather, the sovereign of Portugal. Well had it been for him had he followed the advice of that monarch, who urged on him the necessity of moderation in his government, and, above all, of living on a good understanding with his illegitimate brothers, and to forgive the natural indignation they had shown at the death of their mother. He pretended, indeed, that the advice was not lost on him; and he even invited the eldest, Enrique, to return to court to rejoin his brother don Tello; but from his character and subsequent actions, it may be inferred that his object in so doing was solely to lull his intended victim into security. The invitation was accepted, but both brothers soon left him and revolted; whether at the instigation of some other rebels,

* See the last chapter of the present book.

or from a well-grounded apprehension of their danger, is uncertain. Some of the confederates were reduced and put to death; but the princes themselves eluded his pursuit, —don Tello by fleeing into Aragon. While besieging the places which had thrown off his authority, he became enamoured of doña Maria de Padilla, who was attached to the service of his favourite's lady, doña Isabel de Albuquerque. Through the persuasion of this unprincipled minister, the uncle of the young lady, don Juan de Hinestroja, did not hesitate to sacrifice the honour of his house by consigning her to the arms of the royal gallant. The connection thus formed, which continued unto the death of doña Maria, brought the greatest disasters on the country.

Some months previous to this connection, Pedro, in compliance with the request of the cortes of Valladolid, had agreed that an embassy should be sent to the French king, soliciting for wife a princess of the royal house of that nation. The choice fell on Blanche de Bourbon, a princess of excellent qualities, who, early in 1353, arrived at Valladolid. But the king, infatuated by his mistress, who had just been brought to bed of a daughter, was in no disposition to conclude the marriage; and it was not without difficulty that his minister Albuquerque, who was already jealous of the favours accorded to the relations of Maria de Padilla, and for that reason the more eager for its solemnisation, prevailed on him to meet the princess at Valladolid. Leaving Padilla and his heart at Montalvan, he reluctantly proceeded towards that city. On his way he accepted the submissions of his brothers Enrique and Tello, whom, on an occasion like the one approaching, he could not decently punish for their rebellion. In June, the ceremony took place with due splendour; but two days after its celebration, he precipitately left his youthful bride, and returned to Montalvan. He was followed by his brother Fadrique, grand master of Santiago, and by Albuquerque; but he refused to see them. In a few days, indeed, he paid a short visit to his mother and bride, who remained in

1353 to 1354.

the city where the nuptials had been solemnized: to the latter it was a final one, nor did its duration exceed two days. On his return, Albuquerque was openly disgraced; the royal confidence was transferred to the family of Padilla; and the unfortunate Blanche was confined in the fortress of Arevalo, where no one, not even excepting the queen-mother, was allowed to see her.* To make way for Diego de Padilla, brother of the favourite, the grand master of Calatrava was treacherously murdered, and the commanders of the order compelled to elect the former. †

1354. The next proceeding of this tyrant filled with surprise all who knew his attachment to Maria de Padilla. Being struck while at Valladolid with the personal attraction of doña Juana de Castro, a young maiden, he endeavoured to gain her to his wishes. But the lady having too much virtue to yield, he changed his battery by boldly proposing to marry her. The proposition astonished one who knew his public engagement with Blanche de Bourbon; but he assured her that the union was null, for reasons which his prelates should explain to her. That any such prelates should be found might be supposed impossible; yet certain it is, that the bishops of Avila and Salamanca confirmed his assurances, and the credulous Juana became his dupe. This pro-

* By the superstition of the times, the hatred of Pedro towards his bride was said to be enchantment. A belt, richly beset with gold and precious stones, the gift of the princess, was made to appear a venomous serpent. The enchantment was attributed to Maria de Padilla. This witchcraft is mentioned in one of the romances in Depping's Sammlung der besten Spanischen Romanzen, and in Sanchez, bishop of Palencia, lib. iv. cap. 14. Of course it was a Jew who turned the riband, the gift of Blanche to her husband, into a serpent. Donaverat regina Petro pulcherrimam zonam auream, multis gemmis ac pretiosis lapillis ornatam, quam Petrus reginæ amore sæpe deferebat. Maria vero de Padilla, reginæ æmula, callide operata est ut zona illa ad manus magici Judaici aliquandiu, perveniret. Quam tali maleficio affecit, ut dum quâdam festivâ die rex illâ præcingeritur, à cunctis intuentibus et à seipso, non zonâ aureâ sed quodam horribili serpente præcinctus videreter. Rex vero merito perterritus, cum quæreret quidnam res illa esset, à nonnullis reginæ æmulis, et forsan factioni assentientibus, responsum est, zonam reginæ talem pulchritudinem peperisse. Ex qua hora Petrus infestissamam reginam habuit. — *Historia Hispanica*, lib. iv. cap. 14. The good bishop, however, qualifies his wonderful relation by *dicunt*.

† The same authorities; with the addition of Ayala, Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla, Don Pedro, Don Enrique II., Don Juan I., Don Enrique III. (in regno Don Pedro, usque ad annum v.).

fanation of the sacrament took place in the cathedral of Salamanca in the year 1354. On the report, however, that the brother of Juana had entered into a league with his own brothers, and with the disgraced Albuquerque, both to remove the family of Padilla from his court, and to make him return to his lawful queen, he not only insultingly acquainted the new victim with the deception he had so cruelly practised on her, but abandoned her for ever. In due time a son was the issue of this short connection.

When news of this base transaction reached the bro- 1354.
ther of Juana, Fernando Perez de Castro, who was one of the most powerful lords of Galicia, he instantly joined the league of the discontented. A civil war now commenced, which, during some months, raged with more animosity than success to either party. On its commencement, the king, persuaded that the fortress of Arevalo was not a secure prison for the unfortunate Blanche, ordered her to be conveyed to Toledo, and lodged in the Alcazar of that city. In the apprehension, —no doubt a just one,—that her life was in danger, the queen, on her arrival at Toledo, requested permission from her guards to attend divine service in the cathedral. While there, her appearance so powerfully interested the congregation in her favour, that all offered to protect her at the risk of their fortunes and lives. She was immediately rescued from the power of her gaoler Hinestroja, who returned to acquaint his employer with the event. Furious at the intelligence, Pedro ordered the commanders of Santiago, first to depose their grand master, his brother Fadrique; then to march on Toledo, and force the princess from her sanctuary. But she was no longer there: the whole city had taken her part, and honourably placed her, under a strong guard, in the palace of their kings. These defenders of oppressed innocence were now joined by the heads of the league, whose party daily acquired strength. Neither the sudden, perhaps suspicious, death of Albuquerque, nor the deposition of don Fadrique, depressed their zeal.

To show that a redress of grievances, and not individual ambition, was their object, they despatched messengers to the king, with the assurance of their attachment to his person, and proposed that, if he would dismiss his mistress with her kinsmen, and return to his queen, they would instantly lay down their arms. Pedro was resolved to do neither; but, as it suited his views to protract the negotiation, he nominated commissioners to treat with those of the league, which was now strengthened by the accession of the queen-mother. To bring about an amicable adjustment between her son and his barons, she invited both to Toro, where she then abode,—an invitation which both accepted. But Pedro now found that he was the prisoner of the leaguers, who changed the officers of his household, substituted others from their own body, and closely watched his motions at the time they were treating him with the highest outward respect. To escape from his situation, he had recourse to his usual arts — to bribing some heads of the league, and, above all, to dissimulation — in both cases with success. Even Bertrand, the pope's legate, who arrived at Toro for the express purpose of checking his lawless proceedings, was deceived by him. He so strongly protested his determination to live with Blanche, and his disgust of Padilla; who, he said, was about to take the veil, that the easy legate informed his holiness that all disorders were about to cease; and, instead of excommunicating the king, cited the bishops of Avila and Salamanca to appear before the pontifical court at Rome. The king soon contrived to escape, and threw himself into the fortress of Segovia.

1355. After his escape, Pedro assembled his states at Burgos, and, by artfully representing himself as thwarted in all his proceedings for the good of his people by his mother, his brothers, and the other rebels, whose only aim was to tyrannise over the nation, he procured supplies for carrying on the war. These supplies, however, were granted on the condition of his living with queen Blanche, — a condition which he readily promised to

fulfil, without the slightest intention of so doing. After an unsuccessful assault on Toro, he returned to Toledo, the peculiar object of his hatred. Contrary to all reasonable expectation, he forced an entrance, and expelled the troops of his brother Enrique. This success would, however, have been unattainable, had not most of the inhabitants believed in the sincerity of his declaration to the pontifical representative. The unfortunate Blanche was transferred — not to his palace, to enjoy her rights as queen, but to the fortress of Siguenza; the bishop of that see was also consigned to a prison; and some of the most obnoxious individuals of the league were beheaded or hung. The legate, Bertrand, no longer withheld the thunders of the church: Pedro, Maria de Padilla, and even Juana de Castro, were excommunicated, and the kingdom subjected to an interdict. But these thunders passed harmless over the head of the royal delinquent, who lost no time in marching against Toro, where his mother and many of the leaguers still remained. His first attempt on that place was repulsed with loss; but, after a siege of some months, he prevailed on the inhabitants, by lavishing extraordinary promises of clemency, to open their gates to him. How well he performed his promise appeared the very day of his entrance, when he caused some barbarous executions to be made in his mother's sight. The queen fainted at the spectacle; and, on recovering her senses, requested permission to retire into Portugal, which was granted. About the same time many Castilian barons fled into Aragon.*

During the next few years Pedro waged a desultory war against the king of Aragon, both by sea and land; but the result was decisive to neither of the belligerents. In this war many of the disaffected barons fought in the ranks of the latter, — a policy, for the condemnation of 1355 to 1358.

* Authorities, — the Chronicon Conimbricense; Ayala, Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla; Sanchez, bishop of Palencia; Francisco Tarapha, canon of Barcelona; Alfonso of Carthagena, bishop of Burgos, nearly in the places last quoted; Zurita, Anales de Aragon; Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal; Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, by Hermilly; with some others.

which no words are sufficiently strong, and which greatly detracts from the commiseration that must be felt at the fate of some who afterwards fell into his hands. It cannot be denied that the Castilian king had many provocations to vengeance: his nobles rebelled for the slightest causes,—often without any cause at all; nor is he known to have put to death any of his subjects, whom he did not conceive, at one time or other, either openly or secretly to have aimed at subverting his authority. But the barbarity of his executions; the duplicity with which he planned the destruction of such as submitted under the assurance of pardon; his perfidious disregard of promises, or even oaths, when the openly pardoned objects of his hatred were fully in his power—not even excepting his nearest connections; stamp him at once as a ruthless barbarian, and a bloody tyrant. The execution of his brother Fadrique, grand master of Santiago, in 1358, is, perhaps, more characteristic of him than any other of his actions. On some suspicion,—whether founded or not in justice must remain unknown,—that the grand master maintained an understanding with the king of Aragon, Fadrique was recalled from the Valencian frontier to Seville, where Pedro then was. He found the king playing at chess, in an apartment of the Alcazar, apparently in the best of humours: his reception was very friendly; and he was told to repose awhile in his posada, and return when recovered from his fatigue. Leaving the presence of his brother, he proceeded to the apartments of Maria de Padilla. She knew the fate which awaited him, and her sorrowful countenance showed, that, whatever were her other faults, she was not a woman of blood. On descending to the court of the Alcazar, he was surprised to find his attendants and mules withdrawn, and the gates carefully closed. He at once comprehended the danger of his situation; and the more so when two cavaliers descended to inform him that the king wished to see him. Knowing, however, that the least appearance of distrust was not likely to mend matters, he returned to the royal apartment. As

he ascended and passed along the corridors, he perceived that all the doors were shut; and even on reaching that which led into his brother's presence, he had to wait for admission: the grand master of Calatrava and Pedro Lopez de Padilla, captain of the ballasteros, arrived at the same time. On the door being opened, the king cried out to Pedro Lopez, "Seize the master!"—"Which master?" enquired the latter. "The master of Santiago," was the reply. The captain then approached him and said, "Surrender!" then turning to some ballasteros who stood near him, the tyrant cried, "Kill the master of Santiago!" The command to murder a brother seemed so impossible to these men, that, instead of immediately complying, they stood staring at each other. "Traitors!" cried one of the attendants, who was in the horrible secret, "why do ye delay? Do ye not hear the king's command?" Raising their maces, they approached Fadrique, who bounded from them into the corridor, followed by his assassins: there he endeavoured to draw his sword, but could not, the cross breaking in his hands. The destined victim now ran from one end of the corridor to the other, to avoid the ponderous blows of the macemen; but, at length, one struck him on the head, and he fell on the floor, when two others came up and plunged their poniards into him. Seeing him fall, the king left the corridor, in search of some of Fadrique's attendants, whom he resolved to visit with the same fate. One only was to be found, who, for better security, had taken refuge in the apartments of Maria de Padilla; and, when pursued by the murderers of his master, had taken in his arms one of the tyrant's daughters, whom he held before him as a defence. That defence availed him little: the girl was forced from him, and the dagger of Pedro found a way to his heart.

No sooner was this horrid deed committed, than the 1358.
tyrant sent orders for the execution of several knights in various cities of the kingdom; and, to show his exultation, he insisted on dining in the very room in which

lay the bleeding corpse of his murdered brother. He then called for his cousin don Juan, infante of Aragon, to whom he communicated his intention of executing his brother don Tello, governor of Biscay, and of bestowing the lordship on Juan. The king and the prince departed the very same day for that province; but, on reaching Aguilar, they found that the prince had been apprised of his intended doom, and had fled. Pedro followed him to Bermeo, where he learned that the fugitive had just embarked for Bayonne. In his blind fury he embarked in the first vessel he found in the harbour, and ordered a pursuit; but the sea began to rise so high, that he soon abandoned it, and returned to the port. The infante Juan now requested the fulfilment of the royal promise; but he who had made it had now changed his mind. With his usual duplicity, however, he amused his cousin, saying that he could do nothing without the states of the province; that he would speedily convoke them, and procure the recognition of the new feudatory. He did convoke them; but it was to persuade them to confer their sovereignty on himself alone. The disappointed claimant now left Pedro in disgust; but was speedily recalled to Bilbao, where the king repaired, by the promise that his ambition should be gratified. The infante hastened to that town, and proceeded to the house occupied by the court. As he approached the royal apartments, some of the tyrant's creatures, as if in jest, deprived him of his poniard,—the only weapon which he had about him, and, at the same moment he was struck on the head by a mace: another blow brought him lifeless to the ground. His corpse was thrown from the window of the apartment occupied by the king into the street; but was afterwards conveyed to Burgos, and cast into the river.

1359 to 1361. To revenge the murder of these victims, the two brothers, Enrique and Tello, who had returned to Aragon, made frequent irruptions into Castile. In a battle fought in 1359, they triumphed over Hinestroja, whom they left dead on the field; and, in subsequent

invasions, they obtained no small portion of plunder.* But none of these things moved the king, who persevered in his course of barbarities as if his throne rested on a rock of adamant. It is impossible to specify all his individual acts of murder; such only can be represented here as are either more than usually characteristic of him, or as exercised some influence on following events: in revenge for the aid afforded to his revolted subjects by the infante of Aragon, he put to death the dowager queen of that country, who had long resided in Castile, and who, in addition, was his own aunt. But his famous, or rather infamous, compact with the Portuguese king, Pedro, is most indicative of the man. Knowing how much that sovereign longed to extirpate all who had been concerned in the murder of Iñes de Castro†, and of whom a few had sought refuge in Castile; and no less eager on his own part to take vengeance on three or four of his own obnoxious subjects, who had implored the protection of the Portuguese; he proposed to surrender the Portuguese in exchange for the Castilian refugees. The kindred soul of the Lusitanian felt a savage joy at the proposal: in 1360, the men were exchanged and put to death. To commiserate the murderers of doña Iñes is impossible, however we may execrate the perfidy with which the sacred laws of hospitality were sacrificed to a dark revenge. That the king of Castile contented himself with merely banishing the archbishop of Toledo, the friend and protector of Blanche de Bourbon, was probably owing to the fear—not of the pope, whose power he despised, but—of his own people, who, however submissive to his will on

* While Pedro was at Najera, for the purpose of protecting his frontiers against these irruptions, a priest of San Domingo de la Calzada is said to have waited on him, and foretold, that, unless he kept on his guard, he would be assassinated by his brother Enrique. "Who has advised you to tell me this?" asked the king. "No one," replied the priest, "except San Domingo." Pedro regarded this as some "weak invention of the enemy," and caused the priest to be burnt alive.

This anecdote, true or false, is extracted from the chronicle of the contemporary Lopez de Ayala.

† The fate of this lady, which has so frequently occupied the tragic muse of the Peninsula, must be looked for in the history of Portugal.

most occasions, would not tamely have witnessed the murder of their primate. That he cared as little for the king of France as for the pope, — both were distant
1361. enemies, — Spain had a melancholy proof, in 1361, in the tragical death of that unhappy queen. His orders for her removal by poison were first given to the governor of Xeres, to whom the custody of her person had for some time been intrusted; but that governor, whose name (Iñigo Ortiz de Zuniga) ought to be revered by posterity, refused to become the executioner of his queen. It is somewhat surprising that his life was not the penalty of his disobedience, — a doom which he doubtless expected. A less scrupulous agent for this bloody business was found in one of the king's ballasteros, Juan Perez de Robledo, who hastened to the fortress, superseded the noble Iñigo Ortiz in the command, and perpetrated the deed,—whether by poison or by steel is unknown. The same violence befel Isabel de Lara, widow of the infante don Juan, whom the tyrant had murdered at Bilbao. The fate of Blanche de Bourbon must powerfully excite the sympathy of every reader.*

1361 to 1363. The death of Blanche was followed by the natural one of the king's mistress, Maria de Padilla. Whether through the example of the Portuguese sovereign, who had shortly before proclaimed his secret marriage with Iñes de Castro; or whether because the Castilian had in like manner actually married Maria; certain it is, that, in 1362, — immediately after the murder of the king of Granada by his own hand †, — Pedro convoked the cortes at Seville, and declared that Maria de Padilla had been his lawful wife, and that for this reason alone he had refused to live with Blanche de Bourbon: he therefore required that his son Alfonso should be de-

* Ayala, Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla (in regno Don Pedro, usque ad annum xii.). Chronicon Conimbricense (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xxiii. 343—346.). Rodericus Santius, Episcopus Palentinus, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 14. and 15. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Episcopus Burgensis, Anacephalæosis, cap. 88. Franciscus Tarapha, Canonicus Barcionensis, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 563. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno Don Pedro IV.). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom iv. liv. 17.

† See section i. chap. iii. of the present volume.

clared his legitimate successor. Three of the king's creatures were brought forward, who swore on the holy Gospels that they had been present at the nuptials; and the cortes, though far from convinced of the fact, affected to receive it as such, declared Maria the queen, and Alfonso the heir, of the kingdom; and, after him, the daughters of their monarch by that favourite. If such a marriage were really contracted, Blanche was deceived as well as Juana de Castro; but, from want of sufficient evidence, history can place the French princess only in the rank of Castilian queens. The man who had imposed on the credulity of doña Juana—who had broken his faith whenever it suited his views—whose character was as much distinguished for duplicity as for violence—must produce some better voucher than his word, or his oath, or those of his creatures, before he will obtain credit with posterity.

It was to defend himself against the probable vengeance of France, and the present hostility of Aragon, that, in 1363, Pedro sought the alliance of our Edward III. and the heroic Black Prince. The danger was the more to be apprehended, when the king of Navarre joined his brother of Aragon. For some time, the advantage lay on the side of the Castilian; who, early in 1364, reduced several towns in Valencia, and invested the capital of that province; the siege of which, however, he was soon compelled to raise. But these temporary successes were more than counterbalanced by the activity of Enrique; who, in 1365, prevailed on Bertrand du Guesclin, the count de la Marche, and other French chiefs, to aid him in his projected dethronement of the Castilian tyrant. The French king, Charles V., anxious to avenge the cruel insult done to his royal house, espoused the cause of Enrique, and commanded his disbanded soldiers to serve in the expedition destined against Castile. To meet it, Pedro, in 1366, assembled his troops at Burgos. He had not long to wait: under some noted leaders, the French soon entered Catalonia; were favourably received by their ally the king of

1363 to 1366.

Aragon; and reached Calahorra unmolested, the gates of which were speedily opened to them. There Enrique was solemnly proclaimed king of Castile.

1366. The inactivity of Pedro on the invasion of his kingdom was such, as to leave it a doubtful point with posterity whether he was a coward, or whether he knew too well the disaffection of his people to hazard a battle with the enemy. In opposition to the urgent remonstrances of the inhabitants, he precipitately left Burgos for Seville, without venturing his sword with his aspiring brother. Enrique hastened to the abandoned city, where he was joyfully received by many deputies of the towns, and crowned in the monastery of Huelgas. With the money he found in the Alcazar, and the presents made him by the Jewish inhabitants, he was able to gratify his followers; their chiefs he rewarded more nobly: thus, to Du Guesclin he gave the lordship of Molina and Trastamara; and to our countryman, Hugh de Calverley, who, with the former, had the chief command of the auxiliaries, the city and lordship of Carrion: on his brother Tello he conferred the sovereignty of Biscay; on Sancho, another brother, that of Albuquerque and Ledesma. He now lost no time in pursuing the fugitive Pedro. Presenting himself before Toledo, he summoned that important place to surrender; which, after some deliberation, obeyed the summons. There he was joined by deputies from Avila, Segovia, Madrid, Cuenza, Ciudad Real, with the submission of those towns. He was now master of the whole of New Castile.

1366. The rapidity of these successes convinced the guilty Pedro that his own subjects alone would form but a poor rampart against the assaults of his brother. To procure the aid of Portugal, he sent his daughter Beatrix, now the heiress of his states (his son Alfonso was no more), into that country, with a great treasure as her marriage portion, for the infante don Fernando, to whom she had been promised. He was himself soon obliged to follow her: an insurrection of the Sevillians, who openly de-

clared for Enrique, inspiring the detested tyrant with a just dread of his life, he fled into the territories of his uncle and ally. But here new mortifications awaited him: the Portuguese returned both his daughter and his treasures, on the pretext that, the states of Castile having acknowledged Enrique, the latter had no wish to plunge the two kingdoms into war: all that he could obtain was permission to pass through the Portuguese territory, — he durst not venture into Estremadura, — into Galicia. No sooner was he arrived at Monterey, than the archbishop of Santiago, Fernando de Castro, and other Galician lords, joined him, and advised him to try the fortune of arms; especially as Zamora, Soria, Logroño, and other cities, still held for him: but, though they offered to aid him with 2000 foot and 500 horse, either through cowardice or distrust, he rejected the proposal, and set out for Santiago, with the resolution of proceeding thence to Coruña, and embarking for Bayonne, to join his ally the prince of Wales.

Pedro reached the city of Santiago about the middle of June. While there, he resolved on the murder of the archbishop, — a resolution almost too extraordinary to be explained, yet sufficiently characteristic of the man; who, whenever blood was to be shed, or plunder to be procured, little troubled himself about reasons for his conduct. Perhaps the prelate had reproved him for his past crimes, and besought him to amend his life; perhaps he distrusted don Suero, as he did, indeed, almost every human being: certain it is, that the archbishop was obnoxious to him as a native of Toledo, — a city which had incurred his hatred, not only by its generous defence of queen Blanche, but by its recognition of Enrique. But his most powerful motive for this atrocious deed was his desire to obtain the towns and fortresses of don Suero. Under the pretence of urgent business, he sent for the prelate, who had retired to a country seat near the city, and who immediately obeyed the summons. At the gates of the city, don Suero was met by twenty horsemen, who escorted him to the door of the church,

where Pedro stood, as if to receive him. Here he was suddenly pierced to the heart by their lances; the dean who accompanied him shared the same fate; the church was then robbed, — a fit consummation of this bloody deed. The fortresses of the murdered prelate were immediately occupied. The assassin, leaving them, as well as the support of his interests, to the care of Fernando de Castro, proceeded with his daughter to Coruña, where, with a fleet of twenty-two sail, he embarked for Bayonne. Thus, in three short months, without a single battle on either side, was this cowardly tyrant deprived of a powerful kingdom. It may, however, be doubted whether the majority of the people cared much for either prince: on them the fantastic cruelties of Pedro fell harmless: indeed, there is room for believing, that, whatever were his cruelties towards his obnoxious, and usually rebellious, barons, he caused justice to be impartially administered, and wished no unnecessary imposts to be laid on the great towns.

1366. The exiled king was well received by the English hero, who undertook to restore him to his throne. The treaty into which the two princes had entered rendered the aid of Edward almost imperative: besides, it was his interest to oppose the close ally of France; and his own personal ambition was not a little gratified by the offer of the lordship of Biscay, with 56,000 florins of gold for his own use, and 550,000 for the support of his army. To ensure the punctual performance of the other conditions, Pedro delivered his daughters as hostages into the hands of the Black Prince. The enterprise was sanctioned by the English monarch, and the necessary preparations immediately commenced.*

In the mean time Enrique had been joyfully received

Lopez de Ayala, Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla (in regno Don Pedro, usque ad annum xvi.). Froissart, Chronicles of England, &c., by Johnes, vol. iii. chap. 230. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 17. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 563. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 88. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno Don Pedro IV.). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. iv. liv. 17. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, by Hermilly, tom. v.

at Seville, and acknowledged by the whole of Andalusia. In that city he found a considerable treasure, which the inhabitants had wrested from the fugitive king, and with which he paid his mercenaries previous to dismissing them. This dismissal of so many supporters was a great error: for though he could reckon on a considerable portion of his subjects arming in his favour, he could not calculate on all—perhaps not on a moiety: for many stood aloof from disinclination, more still from an unwillingness to join in a civil war; and he knew that the formidable prince Edward was preparing to support his rival. Seeing himself thus master of the kingdom, except Galicia, he marched to reduce it. He closely invested Fernando de Castro in the city of Lugo; but hearing of the preparations made by the Plantagenet, he entered into a treaty with Fernando, in which the latter agreed to surrender the place, if no succour arrived before Christmas-day; and Enrique, in return for this submission, promised to confer on Fernando the lordship of Castro-Xeriz. From Lugo the king proceeded to Burgos, where he convened his states, and obtained the necessary supplies for the defence of the kingdom. He renewed his alliance with the king of Aragon; and, in an interview with the sovereign of Navarre, on the confines of the two monarchies, he prevailed on the latter, for a gift of 60,000 pistoles, and by the promise of two fortresses, to refuse a passage to the prince of Wales. No sooner, however, was the king of Navarre returned to Pampeluna, than he received messengers from the dethroned Pedro, who offered to put him in possession of Alava and Guipiscoa, with the two important places of Logroño and Vittoria, if he would suffer the English prince to march through his territories unmolested. Charles had no difficulty in accepting the latter propcsition, as he had accepted the former.

The preparations of the English prince being com- 1367.
pleted early in the spring of 1367, he passed the Pyrenees at Roncesvaux, and descended into the plains of

Navarre. In his combined army of English, Normans, and Gascons, were some of the flower of English chivalry. Instead of opposing his passage, Charles secretly desired Oliver de Manny, one of Edward's generals, to seize him (the king of Navarre) while hunting in a certain place, and make him prisoner: by this contrivance he hoped to excuse his inactivity to Enrique. Oliver did as directed, and the English prince pursued his march towards the Castilian frontiers. He was joined by sir Hugh de Calverley, who preferred the loss of the new lordship of Carrion to violating a vassal's faith by bearing arms against his natural chief. Enrique also advanced; but so well was he acquainted with the valour of his renowned antagonist, that he was undetermined whether he should do more than hover round the flanks of the invaders, cut off their supplies, and force them, by famine, to return. In a council of war, however, which he assembled to hear the opinion of his officers as to the plan of the campaign, his Castilian chiefs so justly convinced him, that, if he refused the battle, several towns would immediately declare for Pedro, that he resolved to risk all. No wonder that he should; for if, as Froissart informs us, his army was near 70,000 strong, he might well have little fear as to the result. One of his detachments had the advantage over a foraging party of the allies. On the 2d of April, the two hostile armies met, west of Logroño, a few miles south of the Ebro. The Castilians immediately occupied the vicinity of Najera: the allies encamped at Navarrete. To spare the effusion of Christian blood, Edward sent a letter, by a herald, to the camp of Enrique*, explaining the just causes which had armed the English monarch in defence of an ally and a relation; but offering, at the same time, to mediate between the two parties. His letter, which was addressed, "To the noble and powerful prince Enrique, count of Tras-

* Froissart (chap. 235.) says, that Enrique first wrote to the Black Prince, expressing astonishment at the invasion. This writer is very ill informed on the affairs of Spain.

tamara," not to the king of Castile, was courteously received by Enrique. In his reply, he dwelt on the cruelties and oppressions of Pedro's government, whose expulsion he represented as the act of an indignant nation, and expressed his resolution to maintain both that nation's rights and his own by the sword.

The battle which decided the fate of the two kings commenced the following morning, April the 3d. The war-cry of "Guienne and St. George!" on the one side, and of "Castile and Santiago!" on the other, were soon drowned by the clash of arms, the shouts of the victors, and the groans of the dying. The struggle was for a short time desperate: but who could contend with the victor of Cressy and Poictiers? A fierce charge on the left wing of Enrique by the prince in person, so terrified don Tello, who commanded a body of cavalry, that he fled from the field: perhaps he was as treacherous as he was cowardly. Enrique fought nobly; so also did his antagonist, who, like his celebrated counterpart, Richard III. of England, was as brave as he was cruel. But after the flight of don Tello, the infantry of Castile began to give way; and, after some desperate efforts by Enrique to support the contest, resistance was abandoned. The number of slain, however, on the part of the vanquished, was only 8000; a fact not very honourable to them. Many thousands were made prisoners, all but a handful who accompanied the defeated count into Aragon, whence he escaped into France. Success so splendid is seldom to be found in the annals of history: it at once restored Pedro to the Castilian throne. England, fruitful as she has been in heroes, can boast of few such glorious fields. But the heroic victor met with little gratitude from his faithless ally: as on a former occasion, the states of Biscay were secretly advised not to accept him for their ruler; and it was not without difficulty that he could obtain from Pedro an oath that the money due to his troops should be paid at two instalments,—the first in four, the second 1367.

in twelve months.* But what most disgusted the humane conqueror, was, the eagerness which the restored king showed to shed the blood of the prisoners. This he disdained to permit: he severely upbraided the tyrant for cherishing so sanguinary a disposition. "Of what use, then, has been your aid?" enquired this second Nero. "Unless I punish the rebels, they will again join Enrique, and the victory will be useless!" The tyrant, however, was forced to bend before the master-mind of Edward, and to refrain from shedding blood so long as he remained in Castile. That stay was but of short continuance: having made peace between the kings of Castile and Aragon, and admonished the former to procure the love of the people, he returned to Guienne.

1367. From Burgos, where he had separated from the Black Prince, Pedro proceeded to Toledo, where he put to death some obnoxious individuals: far greater horrors he perpetrated in person at Cordova, and by his emissaries at Seville. He breathed utter destruction against all who had shown any zeal in the service of Enrique, especially if they happened to have any wealth with which he might fill his empty coffers. No wonder that such as were thus menaced should combine to resist him, and that several towns which had watched his conduct should declare again for Enrique, who was invited to strike a second blow for the crown. That prince soon interested in his favour both the king of France and the pope: from both he received a considerable present in money, with which he purchased arms and raised followers. His preparations were not unknown to the prince of Wales; but the latter had learned too much of Pedro's character to take any further interest in that tyrant's affairs: he thenceforward stood aloof from both parties; nor, though entreated by the kings of Aragon and Navarre to join with them in profiting by the dissensions of the two rivals, would he stoop to such rapacity.

* It is probable that a portion of the first instalment was paid to the Black Prince before his departure from Burgos. His treasures remained in that city with a portion of the troops, until August, which was about four months from his entrance into the kingdom.

He was naturally willing to secure both the advantages which had been promised to himself, and the punctual payment of the instalments; but beyond negotiations and remonstrances for such end, he had no concern in the events which followed.*

Towards the close of the year (1367), Enrique en- 1367.
tered Spain by Roussillon, at the head of a very small force, not exceeding 400 lances. At first the king of Aragon attempted to arrest his progress through that kingdom, but with little zeal: the soldiers sent to oppose him connived at his passage into Navarre. Having passed the Ebro at Azagra, and set foot on the Castilian territory, he drew a cross on the sand, and by it swore that he would not desist from his undertaking while life remained. The neighbouring inhabitants of Calahorra readily received him within their walls. He was there joined by many of the Castilian barons with considerable reinforcements, and by the archbishop of Toledo. His reception at Burgos was no less satisfactory. The example of this city constrained Cordova, which had suffered so much from the blood-thirsty Pedro, to declare for him. But he did not immediately proceed to the south: he turned his arms against some of the fortresses in Old Castile: Leon was besieged and taken; the Asturias submitted; Illescas, Buytrago, and Madrid opened their gates after a short struggle; and Toledo, which promised a more obstinate resistance, was invested. It is useful to observe, that the resistance of these places was the work of the citizens who were generally attached to Pedro; while the barons and hidalgos † were generally for Enrique. This circumstance gives great weight to the suspicion, that, while Pedro ruled the privileged orders with an iron sceptre, he favoured the independence of the people.

The success of the invader roused Pedro to something 1368.
like activity in defence of his tottering crown. His ally, the king of Granada, was persuaded to arm in his

* The same authorities.

† Hijo de algo, son of something; easily corrupted into hidalgo.

behalf; and to join him with 6000 horse and 30,000 foot. His own troops did not much exceed 7000; but the united force was formidable. Cordova was immediately assailed by the two kings; but the defence was so vigorous, and the loss on the part of the besiegers so severe, that the enterprise was soon abandoned. The troops of Mohammed V. returned to Granada; and though they afterwards took the field, they did so, not so much to aid their ally, as to derive some advantage for themselves from the confusion of the times. The operations of the war were now very desultory, though destructive to the kingdom. In the north, Vittoria, Salvatierra, Logroño, and some other places which held for Pedro, submitted to the king of Navarre in preference to Enrique,—so great was their repugnance to that champion of feudal tyranny. Toledo manfully resisted his assaults. To relieve that important city, which had now been invested nearly twelve months, Pedro left Seville early in March, 1369, and passed by Calatrava towards Montiel, with the intention of waiting for some reinforcements advancing from Murcia, before he ventured an action with his rival. His motions were already watched by the count of Trastamara, who called a council of war, in which it was decided that the latter should leave a small force to prosecute the siege; and, with the rest, force Pedro to accept battle before the arrival of the expected succours. At this time, Bertrand du Guesclin arrived from France with an aid of 600 lances. Enrique now put his little army in motion; was joined by the grand master of Santiago; and, arriving at Montiel with incredible despatch, he fell on the outposts of his rival, and forced them precipitately into the fortress.

With a very inadequate force, Pedro was now besieged in this place, and cut off from all supplies, which yet reached Enrique every hour. What added to his difficulties, was the want of provisions and of water; so that his men began to desert one by one to the enemy, or retire to their respective homes. In this critical si-

tuation, he meditated the means of escape. One of his knights, Mendo Rodriguez, who was on intimate terms with Bertrand du Guesclin, addressed his friend from the ramparts, and expressed a wish to see him in secret. Du Guesclin assented, and told him to come that very night to the tent. Rodriguez was punctual to the engagement. On the part of his royal master, he offered his friend the hereditary possession of Soria, Almazan, Monteagudo, Atienza, Deza, and Moron, with 200,000 doubloons in gold, if the Breton knight would assist Pedro to escape. The knight replied, that he could not accept the proposal, as he served in this war by order of his natural lord, the king of France. Rodriguez, however, advised him to think farther of the proposal, which he promised to do, and left him. He communicated it to his friends; observing, at the same time, that he should do nothing contrary to the interests of Enrique, and asked them whether it ought not to be mentioned to that prince. They urged him to open the whole affair to Enrique; and he followed their counsel. The count thanked him for his fidelity, and said that he should have all that had been promised him, and even more, if he would draw Pedro to his tent, and acquaint Enrique with the circumstance the moment it happened. We are told that his soul revolted at the proposed treachery, but that his scruples were removed by his friends, who urged him to accept a proposal which would at once end the war and make him rich. The facility with which he consented to stain his knightly faith, — to bring everlasting infamy on his name, — may well raise a doubt whether he really felt the repugnance he pretended. However this be, he assured Mendo Rodriguez that he would provide for the safety of the king; and it was arranged that Pedro should leave the fortress on the evening of March 23.; that he should repair to the Breton's tent, and be escorted to a place of safety. At the hour appointed, accompanied by three of his confidential knights, the king silently repaired to the tent of his base betrayer. On arriving, he dis-

mounted for a moment, and said to Du Guesclin, "Let us away!" As no reply was made, he suspected the truth, and attempted to remount; but was detained by one of the Breton's attendants. At the same moment Enrique, who had been made acquainted with his victim's arrival, entered the tent, but did not at first know his brother,—so great was the alteration which a few years had made in that brother's appearance. "There is your enemy!" said one of the attendants, pointing to the king: even yet he doubted, until Pedro cried out, "I am, I am!" Enrique then drew his dagger, and wounded the king in the face. Both now grappled, and fell to the ground; but the struggle was of short duration: the count was fully armed, and, probably aided by his satellites; and his poniard or theirs soon deprived the prostrate monarch of life.

According to a Catalonian quoted by Zurita, if Pedro had not been unarmed, he would have prevailed over the count; that the count was underneath the king; but that the latter, being wounded by one of Enrique's attendants, lost his hold, and enabled his rival to rise and despatch him.*

In recent times, attempts have been made by Mondejar, and other historical critics, to vindicate the memory of this king, on the ground that his chronicler and contemporary, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, was a blind partisan of his rival's, and has injuriously treated

* Lopez de Ayala, Cronica del Rey Don Pedro (the last five years). Froissart, Chronicles of England, &c., by Johnes, vol. iii. chap. 226—243. Chronicon Conimbricense (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xxiii. 347.). Franciscus Tarapha, de Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 363. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 88. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 16, 17, and 18. (omnes apud Schottum Hispania Illustrata, tom. i). Zurita, Anales de Aragon, lib. x. (in regno Don Pedro IV.). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. v. liv. 18.

Froissart says that there was a great battle before Montiel previous to Pedro's death; that Pedro, on attempting to escape, with eleven attendants, from the castle, was taken prisoner by one of the enemy; who, however, promised to protect his escape; that he was conducted to a tent, which Enrique soon entered, saying, "Where is this son of a w——e who calls himself king of Castile?" that Pedro replied, "Thou art the w——e's son: I am the son of king Alfonso!" that Pedro then grappled with Enrique, whom he threw to the ground, and whom he would soon have despatched, but for the interference of Enrique's creatures. There can be no doubt that Pedro was foully murdered, and that the guilt must rest on more heads than one.

his memory. They tell us of a chronicle of this king, written by don Juan de Castro, bishop of Jaen, in which Pedro is represented as one of the best sovereigns of the age, — as one who, while he protected the oppressed, was severe only against his turbulent and lawless barons. There may be some truth in this latter assertion: Pedro, like our Richard III., whom he partially resembles, was probably no enemy to the humbler orders, but eager only to break the formidable power of the nobles. Even admitting, what is very probable, that his character has been somewhat unfairly treated by Ayala, if one half the deeds narrated by that author were actually perpetrated by him, — and the careful minuteness with which they are recorded gives them the appearance of authenticity, — he has had but one equal in ferocity, and that one was the tsar Ivan IV. of Russia.* Until Castro's pretended chronicle is actually produced, — and it has been sought for in vain these 300 years, — and compared with Ayala, criticism is compelled to receive the testimony of the latter, confirmed, as it incidentally is, by Froissart and other contemporary writers. That he was a man of lust, as well as of cruelty, is apparent from the number of his mistresses, to say nothing of his two pretended wives.† Of his numerous issue, two daughters married into the royal family of England: Constanza, who espoused John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; and Isabel, the wife of Edward duke of York.

ENRIQUE II. was the second and last monarch of illegi- 1369.
timate birth that ever reigned in Castile and Leon. It would be difficult to discover the ground on which this prince claimed the crown: if the daughters of Pedro were

* See Karamsin, Histoire de Russie, tom. x. xi.

† One of these mistresses, Alfonsina Coronel, was disgraced for daring to put in confinement Hinestroja, uncle of Maria de Padilla. A lady of that name, who had taken refuge in the convent of St. Clair, at Seville, escaped his brutality by disfiguring her countenance.

Pedro's character was not wholly depraved; at least his manners were sometimes of a different kind. "Sed et quibusdam animi artibus non caruit, si illis recte uti voluisset. Fuit enim ingenio velox, astutus, et affabilis, in persuadendo promptus et dulcis, armis denique strenuus, in congrediendo primus, rebus bellicis tritus, superbos atque inobedientes, raptores, viarumque insidiatores, miro modo persequebatur." — *Rodericus Santius.*

illegitimate, they yet stood nearer to the throne than himself. The only lawful heir to the Castilian crown, according to the straight line of succession, was Fernando, king of Portugal, grandson of the princess Beatrix, daughter of Sancho the Brave, king of Castile, who was married to Alfonso IV. of Portugal. To the sober-judging Castilians, the right of that prince seemed so clear, that not a few, and those of the first distinction, hastened to do homage to him as their lawful sovereign; and several cities of Leon, with most of Galicia, declared for him. The encouragement thus given to his just pretensions, caused him to assume the title of king of Castile and Leon, as well as of Portugal, and to prepare considerable armaments, both by sea and land, for the purpose of enforcing them. That the opportunity of for ever uniting the two countries was lost before national prejudices were rendered inveterate by time, must ever be deplored by Europe.

1370 to 1372. The difficulties with which the usurper had to contend were of no common order. Besides the places which recognised the Portuguese, Logroño, Vittoria, Salvatierra, and Campezo, still adhered to Charles of Navarre; Molina and Requeña placed themselves under the protection of Aragon; and Carmona refused, when summoned, to receive Enrique. Add to this, that Mohammed of Granada refused his alliance, but entered into one with king Fernando; and that Pedro of Aragon openly joined it, in consideration of Murcia and some fortresses in Castile; and his situation will appear sufficiently precarious. But, if he had no other virtues, he had courage; and he resolutely prepared to vindicate his illegitimate authority. After an ineffectual attempt to procure the submission of Carmona, he assembled his troops at Toledo, reduced Requeña by means of his generals, and with a considerable force marched on Zamora, which he also hoped to reduce. Hearing, however, that Fernando was advancing on Coruña, he bent his steps towards Galicia; but as the Portuguese, on learning his approach, hastily retreated, he turned aside

into that kingdom, took Braga and some minor fortresses, and returned. No sooner had he retired, than detached bands of Portuguese penetrated into Estremadura, on various points, and committed destructive ravages. He contrived, however, to preserve his frontier places both on the side of Portugal and of Aragon. Early in 1370, he had the still greater good fortune of defeating a powerful armament by sea, which Fernando had sent to the mouth of the Guadalquivir. The following year he prosecuted with vigour the siege of Carmona, which had been some time invested, and which began to suffer from want of provisions. In an attempt to escalade the walls, some of his soldiers were taken prisoners, and put to death by the governor, Martin Lopez, who had also the guardianship of Pedro's children, and who was faithfully attached to the memory of that prince. This irritated Enrique, who resolved on a perfidious revenge. After a long and heroic defence, don Martin proposed to capitulate, on condition of his life and liberty being guaranteed; a condition which the king swore on the holy gospels to fulfil. No sooner was the latter in possession of the place, than he sent that brave officer, together with the chancellor of Pedro, to Seville, where both were speedily beheaded by his order. The same year, through the interference of the papal legate, he obtained peace from Portugal, and recovered two places from the king of Navarre. No less fortunate was it for him that Pedro of Aragon was too much occupied in domestic affairs to disturb his tranquillity. At sea, too, his fleet was victorious over an English squadron which advanced against his ally the French king. It was to repair this check, as well as to gratify his own personal ambition, that our duke of Lancaster, who had just married Constanza, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, assumed the title of king of Castile, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The strangest circumstance of all is, that, in 1372, Fernando of Portugal, whose pretensions were so superior, should league himself with the duke.

The obscure, though continued, hostilities which fol-

1372 to 1379. lowed, merit little attention: the advantage of one day was neutralised by the reverse of the next. In 1373, indeed, Enrique penetrated as far as Lisbon; but he reduced no place of consequence; and he soon returned to his dominions with the barren glory of having insulted his royal enemy. The same year, after an unimportant advantage over the Portuguese, in Galicia, the two kings, through the mediation of the pope, — the unceasing friend of peace, like many who have occupied the same dignity, — were persuaded to end, if not their animosity, their open opposition, and even to agree on a double matrimonial alliance.* But the duke of Lancaster was not so easily pacified: in alliance sometimes with Navarre, and always at variance with France and Castile, this prince was actuated, both by public and personal considerations, to persevere in his hostility. He soon found, however, that little reliance was to be placed on his peninsular allies, who veered from one side to another with every wind; though he was constant in his great project, — that of dethroning the usurper, — he was long unable even to attempt its execution. His armaments were always required in France: it was, indeed, the great object of Enrique to occupy the English in that country; and, with this view, he frequently despatched aid to the French king. The Castilian succeeded, during his own life, in averting from his kingdom the scourge of foreign invasion; but, as we shall soon perceive, it arrived under his son.

In the schism which afflicted the church, from the rival pretensions of Urban VI. and the anti-pope Clement, Enrique declared for neither, — doubtless, to gratify his avarice by withholding the customary contributions to the papal see. He died in 1379. In character he was as cruel as Pedro; as loose in morals, and scarcely inferior as a tyrant. On the whole, however, he was a fortunate ruler. Either by bribes or force, he

* Sancho, brother of Enrique, and, consequently, a bastard, espoused Beatrix, sister to Fernando: on arriving at a suitable age, a natural daughter of Fernando was to be bestowed on a bastard of Enrique.

reduced Galicia to obedience, recovered several places from the king of Navarre, whose capital he at one time invested, and overawed his neighbours of Portugal and Aragon.*

JUAN I. followed his father's advice, by cultivating 1379.
the friendship of the French king, whom he frequently assisted in the interminable wars between that monarch and the English. Like his father, he had also to dread the pretensions of the duke of Lancaster; and it was equally his aim to occupy the ambitious Plantagenet with other affairs than disputing his succession.

To preserve Portugal as an ally, Juan, in the second 1380
year of his reign, consented or proposed to marry his to
infant son Enrique with Beatrix, presumptive heiress of 1383.
the Lusitanian crown. This princess, who was in her tenth year, had been promised to Fadrique, brother of the Castilian king; but the superior pretensions of Enrique induced the Portuguese monarch to prefer the latter for a son-in-law. One condition of the projected marriage was, that, in case either of the young betrothed died without issue, the other should inherit the states of the deceased. So fair a prospect of uniting the two crowns could not fail to be agreeable to the two sovereigns; but the best laid designs often end in disappointment, especially when the interests involved are of more than ordinary magnitude. Notwithstanding this solemn treaty, Fernando of Portugal,—for what cause it would be vain to enquire,†— secretly resolved to make war on Castile; and, with the view of strengthening himself by the alliance of the duke of Lancaster, he despatched a trusty

* Lopez de Ayala, Cronica del Rey Don Enrique II. (fol. 140—163.). Froissart, Chronicles of England, &c. by Johnes, vol. iv. passim. Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in Regno Don Pedro IV.). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. v. liv. 18. Favyn, Histoire de Navarre (règne de Charles I.). Chronicon Conimbricense (apud Florez, España Sagrada, xxiii. 347—351.). Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 19. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 89. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 564. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne (by Hermilly), tom. v.

† Lemos (v. 85.) assigns ambition and the hope of vengeance (a emulacao da sua fortuna para elle tam contraria, os dèsejos da vinganza na primeira conjunctura favoravel para ella,) as the cause; but, unlike most chroniclers of his country, this excellent author — *more Robertsoni* — often allows his imagination to supply the place of authority.

messenger to obtain the co-operation of that prince, who readily promised it. Juan, who was soon acquainted with the league, resolved to anticipate his enemy: off cape St. Vincent his fleet triumphed, in 1381, over that of Fernando; and Almeida was forced to submit to him. The arrival from England of the earl of Cambridge, brother of the duke, with 500 men-at-arms, and as many archers, roused the courage of the Portuguese, but did them little service. As the allies could obtain no money from Fernando, they did not scruple to lay their hands on whatever they pleased: hence the distrust and dislike which arose between them and the natives, and which neutralised the little success obtained by their combined arms.* Wearied alike with his allies and the war, Fernando, in 1382, solicited and obtained peace, and the English returned home. The death of the queen of Castile leaving Enrique a widower, Fernando offered him the princess Beatrix, who had been successively promised to his brother, to his two sons, and even to the son of the earl of Cambridge; on condition, however, that the issue of the marriage, whether male or female, should be the sovereign of Portugal, and that he himself should have no share in the administration so long as Leonora, the Portuguese queen, should survive Fernando. This condition, so characteristic of Portuguese dislike of Castilian sway, did not prevent Juan from marrying the princess. Fernando died the very year of this marriage; and his death opened the door to new hostilities.

1383 to 1385. Though Juan and his new queen were, in fact, excluded by the treaty accompanying their union, he no less eagerly claimed the crown in her right; and several of the Portuguese nobles admitted the justice of that claim.

* Let us hope that the atrocities of the English allies — so gently noticed by Froissart — are exaggerated; yet certain it is that the old Portuguese chroniclers dwell largely on them: —" Nao se cançaõ os nossos chronistas de encarecer as atrocidades que estas tropas auxiliares cometteraõ em todos os terrenos de Portugal por onde andaraõ."— *Hist. Geral*, v. 95. "King Fernando," says the Chronicon Conimbricense, "had to seize the church plate to satisfy his allies: — Mandou o ditto senhor rey tomar os thesouros das igrejas, convem a saber, frontaes, e calices et magestades, para pagar o soldo aos dittos Ingrezos."— *Florez*, xxiii. 352.

Even the widowed queen, Leonora, caused her daughter to be proclaimed in the capital; but the bulk of the towns and prelates refused to acknowledge her, and declared don Juan, bastard brother of Fernando, regent of Portugal. The latter prepared to vindicate his right; when Urban VI., whom he had refused to recognise, raised up against him his old enemy, the duke of Lancaster, who was persuaded by that pope again to invade Castile. The usurper Juan was no less anxious to secure the co-operation of the Plantagenet, whose departure to claim the crown of Castile he began to urge with success. To frustrate the double object of this alliance, the Castilian, in 1384, entered the kingdom, received the homage of his adherents, and proceeded to invest the capital: but his troops were ignobly defeated by those of his rival; even the queen-mother scorned to favour his pretensions; and he was constrained to abandon the siege, and return into his dominions. In 1385, the states of Coimbra proclaimed his rival king; who began vigorously to invest the places which held for him. Fortune attended the arms of the Lusitanian, who successively obtained possession of the chief fortified places, and, in several partial engagements, was hailed as victor. A greater and a decisive action was now at hand. Though he had but 10,000 men, he marched against the Castilian king, who met him with an army of at least 34,000; in which were 2000 French knights. The two armies met near Aljubarota, a village in Portuguese Estremadura; where, by the advice of the English knights who served in his army, the Lusitanian entrenched his followers in a position of some strength. As the troops of the Castilian were wearied by their march, some of his officers, especially the chronicler Pedro Lopez de Ayala, in a council of war assembled to decide on the subject, endeavoured to dissuade him from the battle; but the greater number, among whom were the French knights, confiding in their overwhelming numerical superiority, and in their own ardour, inclined him to risk it. The action com-

1385. menced towards sunset, on a fine summer evening (August 14.), and was, for a short time, maintained with great spirit on both sides. In the end, the Portuguese obtained a splendid victory, most of the Castilian chivalry, and 10,000 of the infantry, being left dead on the field: the king himself with difficulty effected his escape. The loss was so heavy, that he ordered his subjects to mourn for a whole year; while the victors annually commemorated their triumph. The French allies, who bore the brunt of the battle, suffered severely on this occasion.*

1385 to 1388. To profit by this victory, the Portuguese monarch commanded his barons to make an irruption into Castile, while he himself despatched to the duke of Lancaster a circumstantial account of this signal success. The latter now burned to assert his rights by other means than threats, or by the mere report of his preparations: he actually left England, with a small but choice armament, (about 1500 knights, and as many archers,) accompanied by his wife, the lady Constanza, and his three daughters. In July, 1386, he appeared off the coast of Galicia, and ultimately landed at El Padron †: thence he proceeded to Santiago, where he

* Lopez de Ayala, Coronica del Rey Don Juan I. fol. 164—191. Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in Regno Don Pedro IV). Froissart, Chronicles of England, &c. by Johnes, vol. vii. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 21. et 22. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacepnalæosis, cap. 90. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 564. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. v. liv. 20. et 21. This last-named author, — the only native who has written a complete history of his country,— is more swayed by patriotism than by strict justice, in the relation of this memorable battle.

"The count de Foix," says Froissart, "was supernaturally acquainted with the result of this battle the very day it took place." That a familiar spirit attended him, as well as the lord de Corasse, appears to have been unhesitatingly received by this chronicler. See p. 292, &c. of the volume cited.

In this place, Hermilly (note to Ferreras, v. 520.) exhibits strange ignorance, when he censures Mezeray for asserting that German and French troops were in the army of Enrique; and wonders where that author acquired the information. That a French critical historian should not be acquainted with Froissart, who dwells so largely, — far more largely than the Spanish chroniclers, — on the transactions of these times, might surprise us, if ignorance in writers by profession had not long ceased to be surprising.

† Froissart (vol. viii. chap. 5.) says that he landed at Coruña; but, one of his foraging parties being defeated by the French knights, who held the castle of that place, he proceeded by land to Santiago. He is very minute in his relation; but, as it depends on report, it will, in most cases, be safer

was solemnly proclaimed king of Castile and Leon. In an interview with the king of Portugal, on the confines of the two states, both entered into a treaty offensive and defensive; and, to cement it the more strongly, agreed that the king should marry Philippa, daughter of the duke. In the mean time, the Castilian was not idle: he had obtained succours from his constant ally the French king, and encouragement from Clement VII., the rival of Urban. In the spring of 1387, the duke and the Portuguese king arrived at Benevento; but their progress was stayed by the plague, which daily made great ravages in their ranks. After the conquest of a few towns and fortresses, the allied army retired into Portugal. The duke himself was seriously indisposed in body, and consequently dispirited. Their retreat was hastened by intelligence of the troubles which raged in England, and which ended in the imprisonment, and eventually the death, of the unfortunate Richard II. But neither abandoned, however circumstances might compel them to suspend, their enterprise. The Castilian king knew this, and dreaded the resumption of hostilities at a more favourable period. To avert them, and to obtain the friendship, rather than continue exposed to the enmity, of his powerful enemies, he proposed to the Plantagenet the marriage of his eldest son, Enrique, with Catherine, daughter of the duke, by the princess Constanza, and, consequently, grand-daughter of Pedro the Cruel. To this overture the duke lent a favourable ear: towards the close of the year the conditions were definitively arranged at Bayonne. The principal were, that, if Enrique died before the consummation of the marriage, the princess should be given to the next son, don Fernando; that Constanza, mother of the princess, should receive in fief five or six towns in

to follow the Spanish and Portuguese guides. In fact, so many have been the errors we have found in this writer relative to Spanish affairs, that we can recommend no edition or translation of his works hitherto published. It is a pity Johnes, the present translator, was not acquainted with the Castilian and Portuguese chroniclers of the period: they should have been carefully compared with Froissart, and his monstrous blunders corrected in the notes.

Castile, besides a revenue of 40,000 francs per annum; that the duke should receive 600,000 in gold, by instalments, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war; that both Constanza and her husband should renounce all claim to the Castilian crown; and that hostages should be given him as a security for the due performance of the three first. Thus, if the personal ambition of the Plantagenet remained without gratification, he had at least the satisfaction of seeing one of his daughters queen of Portugal, and the other destined to the throne of Castile. Early in the following year, Catherine, who was in her fourteenth year, was betrothed to Enrique, who was only in his ninth, and who, on this occasion, assumed the title of prince of the Asturias.

1390. The king of Castile did not long survive this reconciliation with the Plantagenet. His death was tragical: on the 9th day of October, 1390, being at Alcala de Henares, to receive some Christian horsemen, who had long lived in Africa, and who were now returned to their native country, he desired to witness their equestrian exercises, in which he knew them to be exceedingly expert. He accordingly issued from the place by the Puerta de Burgos, and for some moments silently watched their masterly feats. As he was himself well mounted, and was no indifferent horseman, he resolved to join them. The ground was unfortunately newly ploughed; and he had no sooner spurred his mettled steed into a rapid gallop, than the inequality of the surface, and the softness of the soil, caused the animal to stumble. The king was underneath. Such were the violence of the fall and the weight of the beast, that life was immediately extinct. The archbishop of Toledo, who was the first to reach the fatal spot, concealed the catastrophe until he had secured the succession of the young Enrique.

The reign of Juan I. was one of continued troubles, which, though his abilities were moderate, his firmness prevented from ruining the state, or endangering his

own power. Once, indeed, during the disputed succession to the Lusitanian crown, he seriously intended to resign in favour of his own son Enrique, who, as the son of Beatrix, daughter of Fernando, was the true heir to the Portuguese no less than the Castilian throne. His object was to secure the execution of the treaty made with that prince, and for ever to unite the two crowns. But his nobles, who were evidently no less averse to such an union than their western neighbours, not merely advised but compelled him to preserve his dignity. The last years of his reign were disturbed by the hostilities of those neighbours; but they were too obscure in themselves, and too unimportant in their consequences, to deserve notice.*

ENRIQUE III., surnamed the *Infirm*, being no more than eleven years of age on his accession, no one will be surprised that in so turbulent a kingdom his minority should occasion many dissensions. The first and most difficult to be appeased respected the regency. By the will of the late king it was vested in twelve persons,—in six prelates and barons, and six deputies; one from each of these cities,—Burgos, Leon, Toledo, Seville, Cordova, and Murcia. After much debate, during which it was proposed to burn the will in question, as disagreable to the ambitious nobles who were excluded, a council of regency, consisting of three princes of the blood, the archbishops of Toledo and Compostella, the grand masters of Santiago and Calatrava, and eight deputies, was formed. Little harmony could long subsist among men perpetually occupied in advancing 1390 to 1393.

* Ayala, Cronica del Rey Don Juan I., fol. 191—220. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. vi. liv. 22. Froissart, Chronicles of England, &c. by Johnes, vol. vii. passim. Franciscus Tarapha, Canonicus Barcionensis, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 364. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Episcopus Burgensis, Anacephalæosis, cap. 90. Rodericus Santius, Episcopus Palentinus, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 22. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xi. variis locis (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Hieronymus Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii p. 678, &c. (apud eundem, tom. iii.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. ii. lib. 10. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne (by Hermilly), tom. v part 8. The events of Portugal will be more clearly recorded in the proper place. In the present chapter they can be noticed only in so far as they ar connected with those of Castile.

their own individual views, or in frustrating those of their rivals. Some of the council soon retired dissatisfied from the court. Of these the most reckless and formidable was the archbishop of Toledo; who, under the pretext that, by a law of the Partidas, the regency ought to be conferred on one, or three, or at the most five individuals, evidently aimed at engrossing the chief authority. There was, however, much justice in his complaint that the number of regents was too great for conducting the government with necessary vigour; and many of the barons joined his party, loudly proclaiming that the states of the kingdom ought immediately to be convoked for the purpose of confiding both the wardship of the young prince and the conduct of the administration to fewer and abler hands. At length, in 1392, the cortes of Burgos decreed that there should be twelve governors; but that six only should exercise their functions at the same time: that the duration of their power should continue half a year only; and that at the end of the period they should be relieved by the other six. Still there was no little difficulty in deciding which of the two parties should have the priority in point of time; and when this important affair was settled, other complaints and disturbances arose. The populace rose against the Jews, a class of men who, in Castile, as in Poland, were the receivers of the royal revenues and of the contributions from the towns; and who, on some occasions, abused their authority. To add to these troubles, one of the king's uncles, being forbidden by the council to form a matrimonial alliance with a princess of Portugal, in the height of his discontent broke out into rebellion.

1393 to 1399. When, in 1393, the young king assumed the reins of sovereignty, hopes were naturally entertained that growing passions would be hushed, and rival factions reconciled, before the concentrated power of royalty. But though Enrique showed no want of spirit, or even of energy, he was unable to restore internal peace. The ambition of his uncle Fadrique, duke of Benevento,

and the hostility of the Lusitanian king, gave him sufficient occupation, and made the minds of his people strangers to security. Others of his subjects, among whom was another uncle, the count de Gijon, were not slow to profit by the example of the duke of Benevento; nor were these commotions appeased by the force so much as by the liberalities of Enrique. As to the war with Portugal, its only notable success was the surprise of Badajoz by king Juan. Enrique, indeed, had his revenge, by some inroads into the enemy's territory, but neither by force nor negotiation could he recover the bulwark of Estremadura. A truce of ten years, concluded in the last year of the 14th century, restored tranquillity to his harassed frontier.

Enrique was a well-intentioned prince, and beloved by his people, whose burdens he sought to alleviate. In 1401, he convoked the cortes at Tordesillas, where he caused to be enacted many excellent laws, circumscribing the powers and restraining the rapacity of the judges. With equal zeal did he labour to correct an abuse still greater,—the extortions of the revenue officers. The same year he despatched an embassy to the famous Timur; whose devastating career was known, perhaps dreaded, even in the western extremity of Europe. His ambassadors were well received by the Tatar, who made him suitable presents in return, and even condescended to honour him by an embassy. He died the first day of the year 1407; leaving a son, the infante Juan, by his queen, Catherine, under two years of age.* 1400 to 1407.

* Ayala, Cronica del Rey Enrique III., which ends in 1396, but is continued by another hand. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. vi. liv. 22. cap. 5. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 91. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 565. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 23. et 24. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom i.). Hieronymus Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, p. 680, &c. (apud eundem, tom. iii.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. ii. lib. 10. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne (Hermilly's translation), tom. vi. siècc. 14, &c. p. 1—98. This last named informs us — on what authority does not appear — that Enrique was poisoned by a Jewish physician. Guzman makes no mention of such a circumstance.. Favyn, Histoire de Navarre (règne de Charles le Noble).

1407 to 1410. JUAN II. being at so tender an age, fears were entertained lest the infante Fernando, brother to the late king, who in conjunction with the queen-mother was intrusted with the regency, should seize the crown. But though he had many partisans who urged him to that end, and though in the war which subsisted with the Moors of Granada* even patriotism might colour the ambitious attempt, the infante remained firm in his allegiance to his nephew, and alike by his prudence and valour averted the evils which usually befell the state during the minority of its kings. The education of the royal child he confided to its mother; but not until he had caused the imposing ceremony of the coronation to be solemnly performed in the cathedral of Segovia. In the same city the states assembled to confirm the queen and infante in the regency, and to vote the necessary supplies for the prosecution of the war with the Mohammedans. That war he conducted with a vigour which dispirited the enemy. He was no less successful in quelling the turbulence of the nobles, and in thwarting the views of those who laboured to embroil him with the queen-mother.

1410 to 1419. On the death of Martin king of Aragon, in 1410, without issue, don Fernando, as nephew of that king, was one of the candidates for the crown. The claims of each were submitted to nine judges — three from each of the provinces of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, — who, after much disputation, and the removal of many obstacles, proclaimed the infante of Castile the true heir to the vacant throne. In 1412, the new king took possession of his dignity, leaving the administration of Castile in the hands of a council of regency, with the queen at their head.† So long as he lived, it seemed as if his influence in the councils of Castile continued unimpaired; the kingdom remained in profound tran-

* See History of the Kingdom of Granada, for an account of the wars of the regent with Granada.

† The extraordinary election of Fernando will be related at length in the History of Aragon.

quillity. But on his death, in 1416, the queen and her advisers began to be actuated by mutual distrust. The factions which flourished at court soon extended their ramifications into the great towns of the kingdom. In 1418, Catherine herself paid the common debt of nature; and from the time of her feeble son's assuming the sovereignty, may be dated a melancholy series of commotions and disasters.

From the day in which Juan assembled his first cortes (held at Madrid in March, 1419), he exhibited the moral weakness of his character, and too plainly showed that his mind was formed for obedience, not for command. This reign, in consequence, ought not so much to be called his own as that of his favourites; especially of don Alvaro de Luna, a man fatally memorable in the Castilian annals. The first serious disturbance arose from the disappointed love or ambition of don Enrique, infante of Aragon, who claimed the hand of the princess Catalina, the king's sister. Being repulsed by that princess, and disappointed in his hope of aid from the favourites of Juan, he resolved to effect by force what he could not obtain by other means. As at once brother-in-law (Juan had just married his sister) and cousin of the king, he had easy access to the royal apartments whenever he pleased. At daybreak on the morning of July 12. 1420, he hastened to Tordesillas, where the court then was, accompanied by 300 lancers, and by some troops furnished him by his friend and accomplice, Ruy Lopez de Avalos, constable of Castile. Having forced the gates of the palace, he arrested two of Alvaro's creatures, and proceeded to the royal apartment, where he found the king asleep, as well as the favourite, who lay on a mat at the foot of the royal couch. The noise first awoke don Alvaro, who, seeing the formidable array of the infante, contented himself with merely expressing his surprise at conduct so unexpected, and so disrespectful to their common lord. The young queen and the princess Catalina, who occupied the adjoining apartments, were likewise

1419 to 1421.

awakened, but their alarm was carefully concealed from the king. The surprise, and for a time the indignation, of Juan himself, were too great to be controlled; but seeing the prince's strength, he at length became calm, and listened with apparent attention to his excuses, who protested that, in so extraordinary a step, he had no other end in view than to rescue the king and kingdom from the influence of a few obnoxious advisers. This customary language of treason was too gross to blind even Juan; but he saw he was a prisoner, and he patiently submitted to his fate. The prudence of Alvaro preserved him from arrest; but his and the king's adviser, Fernando de Robles, was consigned to the fortress of Leon. The people of Tordesillas rose to rescue their monarch; but Alvaro, seeing that their blind efforts would only tend to their own destruction, prevailed on them to disperse. Enrique immediately removed from the royal person all whom he knew to be hostile to his views, and replaced them by his own creatures: for the sake of greater security, the king was conducted to the strong alcazar of Avila. Amidst the hurry and confusion of such a scene, the princess Catalina, for whose sake chiefly this atrocious deed had been perpetrated, took refuge in the convent of St. Clair, and refused to leave it, notwithstanding the entreaties and threats of her daring lover. Enrique then ordered one of his officers to drag her by force from her sanctuary: the agent, who appears to have been worthy of such a master, threatened to burn the house to the ground unless she immediately surrendered; the terrified nuns implored her not to bring utter destruction on their heads; so that, in the end, after exacting an oath from the infante, that she should not be constrained to marry him against her will, she left the convent, and was instantly sent to rejoin her brother at Avila.*

* Fernando Perez de Guzman, Cronica del Serenissimo Principe Don Juan II. fol. 1—72. Cronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de los Reynos de Castilla y Leon, p. 1—60. Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. ii. lib. 4. et tom. iii. lib. 2. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ,

The success of this audacious exploit filled some 1421.
nobles with indignation, and others with envy: the archbishop of Toledo, and even the infante Juan, brother of Enrique, armed in the cause of their sovereign, and by their letters called on the lords of the kingdom to assemble and rescue him from slavery. But Enrique traversed their design: by convoking in the royal name the states at Avila, he prevented the formation of a dangerous confederacy. Such was the ascendency of his intrepid character over the helpless Juan, that the latter did not dare to own his subjection; but protested, in the presence of all who were admitted to see him, that he enjoyed perfect freedom. When the states were assembled, he put the finishing hand to his own degradation, by a repetition of the same protestation; and declared in addition, that he approved whatever had been done by his cousin Enrique, whose zeal, however violent, had broken the chains in which he had been held by others. The triumph of the traitor was soon completed by his marriage with the princess Catalina, who, whether from fickleness or fear, no longer showed any disinclination to so ardent a lover. This event, however, which he regarded as the consummation of his hopes, occasioned their frustration; since, amidst the rejoicings and indulgences attending it, he relaxed from the severity with which he had hitherto guarded his royal prisoner. Under the pretext of hunting, the king, accompanied by don Alvaro and other friends, left Talavera early one morning, before Enrique arose, and fled to the castle of Montalban. He was pursued by the constable, and invested in the place. His more loyal subjects, among whom were the archbishop of Toledo

lib. xi. p. 399. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 92. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 566. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 25—29. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Hieronymus Blancas, Commentarii Rerum Aragonensium, p. 683. (apud eundem, tom. iii.). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. vi. liv. 23. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne (by Hermilly), tom. vi. part. 9.

and the infante don Juan, hastened to his succour. The siege of the castle was soon raised, and he himself conducted in triumph to Talavera; not to rule as an independent sovereign, but to wear the chains of his old favourites.

1421 to 1425. Juan had neither vigour enough to punish his enemies, nor gratitude enough to reward his adherents. While Enrique long escaped with impunity, rather through the impotence than favour of the king, those who had rescued him from thraldom were wholly overlooked. The people soon saw that the dominion of one set of favourites was only replaced by that of another. After remaining in arms about two years, Enrique at length, confiding in the royal protestations of clemency, laid down his arms, proceeded to court, and was immediately imprisoned. This fate was far from adequate to his crimes, but it did the royal cause no good: it proved that Juan trembled only before the powerful, and could be energetic only with the disarmed. Some of the partisans of Enrique took refuge in the domains of Aragon: this afforded the king an opportunity of confiscating their estates, which he bestowed on his creatures. The dignity of constable was taken from Ruy Lopez de Avalos, then in Valencia, and conferred on Alvaro de Luna; and the possessions of that baron were distributed among the hungry parasites of the court. At length, in 1425, Enrique obtained both his liberty and the restoration of his honours and estates, through the threats rather than the entreaties of his brother the king of Aragon. He retired to Tarazona.

1426 to 1428. If Enrique was absent from the kingdom, he had yet many adherents, who wished for his return. The prodigalities of the king, and the unbounded favours of the constable, daily added to their number. So great, indeed, were those prodigalities, that the deputies to the cortes found it necessary to restrain them: the king was forbidden, during a period of twenty-five years, to grant any new pensions; and most of those which he had granted were revoked. The murmurs, and even partial

commotions, which appeared in some of the great towns, where public opinion and the machinations of Enrique's creatures — such were nearly all who hated the constable — were the most influential, and the entreaties, or rather menaces, of the kings of Aragon and Navarre* for the recall of their brother, added to the distraction of this weak monarch, and to the apprehensions of his courtiers. The league formed against don Alvaro gained accessions every day. As early as 1427, it was bold enough to present a remonstrance to the king, insisting on the dismission of that baron and others from his councils. Unwilling that concessions should be extorted from him, Juan, by the advice of a prudent ecclesiastic, submitted the subject to certain commissioners expressly appointed for the purpose, who decided that the obnoxious favourite should be exiled from court during eighteen months. In this extraordinary investigation, no crime could be imputed to the constable: if he had provided for his relatives and dependants, he had not abused the power, or shown any lukewarmness in the service, of his master. Jealousy of his immense favour appears to have been the only cause of the persecution urged against him. In conformity with his sentence, he retired to Ayllon, carrying with him the affections of the king; and Enrique returned to court in the hope of resuming his former influence. But the exiled constable, like the prince, had his partisans, who, knowing the royal sentiments, did not despair of procuring his honourable recall. To this end they laboured so effectually; such were the troubles they artfully contrived to excite, which they represented as impossible to be allayed by any other than himself; such too were the dissensions of those who now aspired to the king's confidence, and who were more jealous of one another than even of Alvaro,—that in a few short months he was invited to resume his place in the councils of the kingdom. He pretended great reluctance to leave his

* The infante don Juan, brother of Enrique, succeeded in 1424 to the crown of Navarre. See the history of that kingdom.

retirement, and did not comply with the invitation until it had been thrice made.*

1429. No sooner was the constable re-established in his master's favour, than he was again exposed to the sting of the courtly insects. The discontented Castilians had no difficulty in forming against him a new league, supported as before by the brother kings of Aragon and Navarre. Finding that remonstrances were of no avail, the two sovereigns invaded Castile, protesting that they would see justice done their brother Enrique, and a second time remove the favourite, whom they professed to regard not only as his enemy but their own. Having effected a junction with the infante, they marched against the constable, whom they met near Cogullado. The forces of both parties were preparing for action, when the cardinal de Foix, the pope's legate to Aragon, arrived on the field, and holding a crucifix in his hands, placed himself between the combatants, conjuring and even commanding them to suspend their unnatural warfare. With some difficulty the two armies were persuaded to remain inactive until the following morning; but during the night, so well did the queen of Aragon, mother of Juan, exert herself to preserve peace, that, on receiving promises as to the fulfilment of two or three points of no great importance, they returned to their own dominions. But that monarch, elated by the departure of his enemies, whom he had not ventured to meet in person, refused to ratify the reasonable conditions they had exacted, and loudly expressed his resolution to carry his arms across the frontiers. He accordingly made a destructive sally into the western districts of Aragon. The states of Burgos

* Fernando Perez de Guzman, Cronica del Serenissimo Rey Don Juan II. fol. 72—115. Cronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, p. 3—112. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xi. Alfonsus à Carthagena, Anacephalæosis, cap. 92. We here part with this brief writer. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 20—31. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 567. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Zurita, Anales de la Corona de Aragon, tom. iii. lib. 2. Favyn, Histoire de Navarre (règne du Roi Jean). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. vi. liv. 23. The first of these authorities is worth all the rest; the second is too partial to the memory of the constable.

showed great alacrity to support their monarch, whose preparations were on the most formidable scale. After a few unimportant actions, however, in which no advantage was gained on either side, both agreed on a truce of five years.

During the next few years, Castile, at peace with all her neighbours except Granada, offers nothing to strike the attention. Murmurs at the gradually increasing power of the constable, whom the king took every opportunity of enriching, and without whose advice nothing was undertaken, were indeed sufficiently frequent; but no open revolt agitated the kingdom until 1439—an unusual period in such an age and country. From this fact it is impossible not to believe that the man who could maintain himself so long on the very pinnacle of power, in opposition to the efforts of so many princes and barons, must have possessed abilities of no common order. Now, however, a new league was formed against him, headed as usual by Enrique and the king of Navarre (Alfonso of Aragon was no longer in a state to dictate to his brother of Castile), the members of which loudly demanded the removal of the obnoxious favourite. To dispel the approaching storm, don Alvaro retired for a time from the court; but the confederates refused to lay down their arms until he should be for ever driven from the royal presence. Though the complaints which they elaborately brought against him were for the most part invented or exaggerated, it is evident enough that during this second period of favour he had abused his influence over the royal mind, and exhibited as much eagerness to enrich—no matter by what means—his creatures and instruments, as vindictiveness against all who ventured to thwart his will. To appease his barons, the king convoked his cortes at Valladolid: such a step was become necessary; for the leaguers had seized on some of his chief cities, and were preparing to proceed still further. The first act of the assembly was to recommend that all parties should disarm—the king as well as the infante, the constable as well as the king of Navarre. But this

1430 to 1441

recommendation led to no result; both parties continued exasperated as before. That of the king was weakened by the desertion of his only son, prince Enrique, who espoused the cause of the confederates. The queen followed the example of her son: in short, the aspect of affairs was so menacing, that don Alvaro began to turn his eyes towards Portugal in search of an asylum. Through the persuasion of the king, however, who assured him that every thing should be arranged to his wish, he consented to await the result.*

1441 to 1445. The horrors of internal strife were now felt in all their force: city after city was invested and taken by the confederate rebels, who showed little mercy to the partisans of the king and constable. In vain did Juan whisper peace; in vain did he prepare to abide by the decision of his states, which he might summon for the purpose: as he did not at once and for ever banish don Alvaro from his presence, his entreaties and remonstrances were equally disregarded. At length, finding that he was unable to contend with his queen, his son, and his barons, he consented, in a conference with the chiefs of the insurgents, not only to dismiss from court all the creatures of the constable, but to forbid the obnoxious favourite his presence during six years. The indiscretion, however, of don Alvaro, who, from his retreat at San Martin, unsucessfully endeavoured to sow dissension among the confederates, made them resolve on his utter destruction. The still greater imprudence of the king, who, in 1443, held over the baptismal font a child of the constable's, confirmed them in their purpose. Their first object, which they easily effected, was to keep their sovereign a kind of prisoner in his own palace. Though their subsequent efforts were some-

* Guzman, Cronica del Serenissimo Principe Don Juan II., 115—215. Cronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, 112—172. Hieronymus Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, p. 698, &c. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. iii.). Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p 567. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 31, &c. (ambo apud eundem, tom. i.). Zurita, Anales de la Corona de Aragon, tom. iii. lib. 12. et 13. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. vii. liv. 26. et 27. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne by Hermilly), tom. vi. part. 9.

what paralysed by the defection of prince Enrique, who even called on all good men to aid him in rescuing his father from a slavish dependence on them, they persevered not the less in their design. They took the 1444.
field against both the prince and the father, who now contrived to escape, and reach the camp of the former. But on this occasion fortune declared for the side of justice; the confederates were routed and dispersed in several successive actions, and their strong places recovered by the royal forces. Their estates were seized by the king, and they themselves forced to seek refuge in Aragon or Navarre. Subsequently, both the king of Navarre and his brother, the reckless Enrique, collected troops; and invaded, the one Castile, the other Murcia; but without any other result than that of harassing the innocent peasantry, or wreaking vengeance on their personal enemies. Finally, the victory of Olmedo, gained by Juan in person over the two brothers; the acquisition of a considerable number of prisoners; and the death of Enrique, through a wound received in that battle; appeared to consolidate both the power of the king and the influence of the favourite.

But royal attachments are seldom permanent, because 1445
they are seldom founded on merit; and because the to
minds of men, especially those of kings, are generally 1453.
incapable of any lasting impression. Though the favour of Juan II. had been protracted far beyond the limits of ordinary duration, it was not to prove an exception to the usual course of human experience. Soon after the battle of Olmedo, the partiality of the monarch began to be weakened. The first known subject of dissatisfaction arose from the negotiations for a new marriage (the king had been some time a widower): Juan wished for a daughter of Charles VII. of France; the constable forced on him a princess of Portugal. Such, however, was his habitual submission to the will of the favourite, that he concealed his discontent, and shortly afterwards even prevailed on the knights of Santiago to

elect the constable for their grand master.* In the frequent misunderstandings which happened between him and his son, don Alvaro still continued to be his umpire: the interests of the unnatural prince were managed by don Juan Pacheco, whose influence over the heir apparent equalled, and, as we shall hereafter perceive, was destined to prove as disastrous, as that of the constable over the king. Alvaro, too, continued to command the royal troops in the frequent hostilities with the king of Navarre, who sometimes invested the frontier towns of Castile in person, and sometimes stimulated the discontented nobles to revolt within their respective domains or jurisdictions. In short, besides the habitual sway which he exercised over the royal mind, he was too powerful, both from his alliances and the number of his armed dependants, to be bearded even by a king. Years accordingly elapsed before Juan could put into execution his long-meditated design of destroying his constable. His attention, indeed, was long distracted by the irruptions into his territories of the Aragonese and Navarrese, in conjunction with the Castilian exiles; and by the partial revolts which from time to time agitated his kingdom. (That of Toledo, for instance, occasioned by an exaction, under the name of a loan, of
1453. a million maravedis, was not suppressed without much difficulty.) It was not until the year 1453, that he seriously resolved to rid himself of his formidable minister; and the caution with which he proceeded in that resolution proves at once the cowardice and meanness of his character. Instead of openly arresting the constable, he secretly implored the count de Plasencia to seize, or even to assassinate, don Alvaro. But the latter, who had spies every where, was soon acquainted with much of what had been decided against him. A prudent man would have for ever left the court, and, with a number of armed followers sufficient to protect him from his enemies, would have retired to

* The dignity had been held by Alfonso of Aragon, whom the king caused to be deposed.

some one of his numerous fortresses; but prudence was a virtue to which the constable was a stranger: he resolved to remain, and set at defiance both king and nobles.

To rashness, and an insolent contempt of the royal power and authority, don Alvaro soon added the crime of murder. Knowing that Alfonso de Vivero, one of his creatures, was become his secret enemy, he planned the destruction of that false confidant. One day, he held in his own house a council, to which Alfonso was summoned. On the appearance of the latter, he was shown the correspondence which he had held with the king relative to the constable's arrest, and which Alvaro had intercepted. The confusion of the traitor would have been evidence enough of his guilt, without the incontestable documents then produced. On a signal from the constable, he was dragged to the top of the tower, precipitated headlong, and dashed to pieces on the ground below.* The creatures of Alvaro suddenly raised a note of lamentation, as if the fall had been purely accidental; but the king was soon acquainted with the truth, and the more confirmed in his purpose of vengeance. 1453.

Don Alvaro was at Burgos, when the order for his arrest was given by the king to the son of the count de Plasencia, to take him dead or alive. During the night, troops were secretly placed in various parts of the city, and at the entrance of the fortress, into which some men at arms were silently introduced. The royal order was to invest the house in which the constable resided, and thereby compel him to surrender. Accordingly, the young Zuñiga, with 200 men at arms, and twenty horsemen, surrounded the house, exclaiming, "*Castilla! Castilla! libertad para el Rey!*" The constable showed his head from a window; but an arrow 1453.

* Another account says that Alfonso was thrown from a window; a third, that he was killed by a blow on the head with a mace. So much do even contemporaries differ in their relations of a fact which many might have witnessed, and respecting which all might have obtained exact information.

being shot at him, he withdrew it, and his men began to fire on the royal troops. The assault was repelled; but he himself was at length persuaded to surrender, on receiving an assurance in writing, under the king's own hand, that his life, liberty, and even possessions, should be spared. No sooner, however, was he secured, than his gold and jewels were seized by the faithless monarch, and orders given to try — in other words, to condemn him. Twelve lawyers and several barons, being assembled for this purpose, unanimously passed on him the last sentence, and the confiscation of all his possessions. From Burgos he was conducted to Valladolid, where the execution was appointed to take place. He prepared for death with firmness, and with apparent contrition for his past misdeeds. During the night preceding the execution, the king's mind was far from tranquil. He remembered the real services of the constable through so many years, the affection he had once borne him, and the promise he had made of sparing his life. The remembrance was so troublesome, that he once or twice delivered a sealed paper to the chamberlain on duty, which he wished to be taken to Zuñiga — doubtless, to stay the execution. Hearing of his agitation, the queen, whose conduct throughout was exceedingly vindictive, hastened to him, and succeeded in suspending rather than removing his scruples. As the fatal hour approached, don Alvaro, mounted on a mule, and attended by two monks, left his house for the scaffold. On the way, the public herald, according to custom, vociferated his crimes and punishment. "I deserve all this," said he, "and more, for my sins!" When near the scaffold, he called a page of the prince, and said to him, "Page, tell my lord the prince to reward his servants better than the king, my sovereign, now rewards me!" He ascended with a firm step, knelt for a few moments before a crucifix, bared his neck with his own hands, and quietly laid his head on the block, when the executioner plunged the knife into his

throat, and afterwards separated the head from the body, amidst the tears of the surrounding multitude.

Thus fell the great constable of Castile, the victim, 1453.
chiefly of his own immeasurable ambition, and in no mean degree of courtier jealousy and of royal faithlessness. If his crimes were many, they were characteristic rather of the age than of the man: he was certainly no more criminal than the great body of the Castilian barons, who despised alike justice and reason when violence could secure their ends. To him the queen was indebted for her crown; yet she persecuted him with unrelenting hatred. The numbers whom he had enriched forsook him as his favour declined: three only of his army of dependants remained faithful to the last. And as to his trial, the most eminent legal authorities of Spain have satisfactorily proved, that in his case both the spirit and forms of justice were disregarded.*

Juan II. did not long survive the constable: he died in 1454. He was one of the weakest and most despicable princes that ever swayed the sceptre of any country. Besides two sons, he left issue the infanta Isabel, so famous in the annals of Spain.†

The reign of ENRIQUE IV., surnamed *the Impotent*, was 1454.
even more disastrous than that of his father. That this surname was not undeserved, we have the testimony of his own wife, Blanche of Navarre, whom he led to the altar in 1440, and who, after a union of thirteen years, could complain that the *debitum conjugale* remained unpaid. On this ground, in 1453, the marriage was annulled, and the

* Of this opinion are the eminent legalists, Salazar de Mendoza (Cronica del Gran Cardenal, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, liv. i. cap. 19.), Gonsalez de Avila (Teatro de Salamanca, lib. iii. cap. 15.), and Montalvo (las Siete Partidas, lib. i. tit. 7. part 1.), and many others.

† Guzman, Cronica del Serenissimo Principe Don Juan II. fol. 215. to the end. Cronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, from the place last cited to the end. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 32—34 Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xii. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispanica, p. 566. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom 1.). Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Decades Rerum Hispanarum, lib. i. cap. 1. (apud eundem in eodemque tomo). Alfonso de Palencia, Decados, Diego de Valera; and Alfonso d'Espina (as quoted by Ferreras, part ix.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. iii. lib. 15. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. vii. liv. 27. et 28.

unfortunate princess returned to her family. After his accession, however, he solicited and obtained the hand of a Portuguese infanta.

1445 to 1459. From the rebellious conduct of this prince towards his own father, it could scarcely be expected that he would be allowed to sway the sceptre in peace. Besides the disputes which he had with the crowns of Navarre and Aragon, he was perpetually subjected to the insults no less than the defiance of his turbulent nobles, and to the partial revolts of the people whom the exactions of his revenue officers never failed to exasperate. In 1457 a league was formed against him, just as it had been against the late king, and composed of the most influential barons and ecclesiastics: among these was Enrique's favourite Pacheco, for whom he had obtained the marquisate of Villena, and whom he had laden with honours and wealth. Their complaints were, that the business of administration was neglected; that the king kept aloof from the hereditary advisers of his crown, and associated with individuals of low birth, on whom he lavished his resources, to the great detriment of the state. Whatever might be his other faults, he was naturally mild, and disposed to cherish his people: to their remonstrance he replied, that he would convoke his cortes, and do whatever they advised him. They accordingly disbanded. But, if he was well-intentioned, he had not energy enough to persevere in any given line of conduct:

1458. he soon abandoned himself to new favourites. In 1458 his subjects were not a little surprised to perceive *a lady*, Doña Guiomar de Castro, one of the queen's attendants, among the number.* The notorious imputation cast on his virility, might probably have driven him to such a step; possibly, too, as he and his creatures contended, time had invigorated him. However this be, certain it is that the queen was jealous of the new mistress, though that jealousy might arise as much from seeing another

* This was not Enrique's only mistress: he had also doña Catalina de Sandoval, whom, for an infidelity, he afterwards shut up in the convent of San Pedro de las Dueñas. Her accomplice lost his head,—an almost solitary instance of cruelty in this monarch.

the exclusive channel of royal favours, as from a more delicate cause. On one occasion she exhibited the feeling in a manner little decorous. The king had proclaimed a bull-fight,—no doubt in honour of doña Guiomar, in the plaza before the palace of Madrid: the queen not only refused to appear at the windows, but strictly enjoined her women to remain in the back apartments. The favourite disregarded the command: magnificently attired, she overlooked, from a high balcony, the feats of the day. Enraged at this contempt of her orders, and pervaded by the whole fiend of jealousy, Juana remained at the foot of the staircase until the minion descended, and with her royal hands inflicted some severe blows on the head of the offender, whom at the same time she dragged by the hair along the ground, to the no small scandal of the household. Enrique hastened to the scene, seized his consort by the arm, and threw her from him: whether from the violence of the repulse, or from mortification, the queen fainted away. To prevent the repetition of such scenes, the minion was removed from the palace, and splendidly established at a village in the vicinity of Madrid.

In the mean time, the confederates seeing the ill success of their former remonstrance, again proceeded to strengthen their league: they presented a second, drawn up in more decided terms than the preceding; and, besides, insisted that the king should pay more regard to the education of the infantes, Alfonso and Isabel, and cause the former to be recognised as his heir by the states of the kingdom. As his answer was evasive, they again placed the king of Aragon and Navarre* at their head, and laboured by every means to obstruct the course of his government. Hostilities between him and that monarch were the consequence; but they led to nothing, especially as from time to time he found means to gain over several of the discontented lords. His satisfaction was increased by the pregnancy of his queen; who, early

1460 to 1464.

* Juan of Navarre had also succeeded to the crown of Aragon.

in 1462, was delivered of a daughter, the infanta Juana. Though popular report did not hesitate to assign the child to the familiarity of the mother with Don Beltran de la Cueva, count of Ledesma, one of Enrique's favourites, and even applied to that issue the significant epithet of *Beltraneja*, the latter was the no less eager in securing the recognition of the princess as heiress to his dominions.*

1464 to 1465. In 1464, after some partially unsuccessful inroads into Catalonia, the inhabitants of which had placed themselves under his protection, and even acknowledged him as their sovereign; Enrique made peace with the Aragonese, and thereby forsook the Catalans. But if one enemy was thus appeased, a more formidable one remained in his own barons and courtiers, who were generally in arms against him, and who constantly refused even to confer with him in person until he had given hostages for their safety. Their avowed object was still to procure the recognition of the infant Alfonso, to the exclusion of the Beltraneja, whom nobody regarded as his. At length, the marquis of Villena, the very soul of the league, being disappointed in his expectation of the grand mastership of Santiago, which was conferred on the count of Ledesma, formed no less a project than that arresting both king and queen, of proclaiming Alfonso, and, in concert with his confederates, of reigning under the name and authority of that young prince. The convent of San Pedro de las Dueñas, where an interview was to take place between the king and the confederates, was to witness the execution of this audacious plot: but, being being seasonably warned by four faithful servants, he avoided the snare. Such, however, was his anxiety for the restoration of internal

* Diego Henriquez del Castillo, Francisco de la Cruz, and Alfonso de Palencia (in MS., as quoted by Ferreras, tom. vii. passim). Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Decades, dec. i. lib. 1. cap. 2. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 36. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xiii. &c. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, p. 705. (apud eundem, tom. iii.). Zurita, Anales de la Corona de Aragon, tom. iv. lib. 16. et 17. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne (by Hermilly), vii. partie 10.

peace, that he soon afterwards consented to a similar interview, —each party to be attended by no more than fifty horsemen. In that interview he astonished the leaguers by the facility with which he acceded to their demands. He agreed that his brother Alfonso should be declared his heir; that don Beltran should resign the grand-mastership of Santiago in favour of that infante, who should be consigned to the guardianship of the marquis of Villena. Early in the following year (1465), these conditions were punctually performed: Beltran resigned the dignity, with which Alfonso was immediately invested; and that infante, on engaging to marry the Beltraneja, was, at the same time, proclaimed prince of the Asturias, and succcessor to the throne. Commissioners were also appointed for the arrangement of other differences. But the unexampled concessions were insufficient to satisfy the latter, whose resolution of dethroning their sovereign, however its execution might have been thwarted by contingencies, still subsisted in all its vigour. Enrique summoned them to lay down their arms, and to surrender his brother, and went to invest Arevalo, one of their fortresses: that siege, however, he soon raised on hearing that Valladolid had declared for Alfonso, whom the rebels were conducting to Avila, to be there proclaimed king of Leon and Castile.

The scene which now disgraced Avila was one of unparalleled effrontery. In the midst of the plain, near the walls of the city, a vast theatre was constructed: in the centre rose a throne, on which was placed an effigy of Enrique, with a crown on the head, a sceptre in the hand, and other ensigns of royal dignity. A herald ascended the platform, and read, in a loud voice, the various charges that had long been urged against the administration of the king, —his neglect of justice; his incapacity; the outrages which he had committed against his kingdom and nobles: hence, that, in conformity with reason and justice, no less than the fundamental laws of the realm, the said Enrique had been 1465.

pronounced by the most eminent civilians to be unfit any longer to wear the crown, and that his deposition was imperiously demanded by the interests of the nation. This decision was justified by an allusion to other kingdoms, which, in various periods of history, had been compelled to depose their rulers. No sooner was this strange homily finished than the archbishop of Toledo*, with the marquis of Villena, the count of Plasencia, the grand master of Alcantara, and other barons, ascended the platform, and approached the statue. The first took off the royal crown; the second snatched away the sceptre; the third, the sword; a fourth stripped off the kingly robe; a fifth and sixth, the other emblems of royalty: all six then simultaneously kicked the statue from the chair, and precipitated it to the ground, loading it with curses and the most insulting terms of reproach. Alfonso was next brought on the stage,—was elevated on the shoulders of the nobles, who exclaimed, *"Castilla! Castilla! para el rey don Alfonso!"* The flourish of trumpets, the beating of drums, and the homage solemnly rendered to the new king, completed the scene.

1465 to 1469. Enrique was naturally anxious to punish the rebels, but their attitude was too formidable for him. They continued under arms, besieging fortress after fortress, and wreaking vengeance alike on their personal and political enemies. During these troubles there was a total relaxation of the laws: numerous bands of robbers paraded the highways, and not unfrequently pillaged the towns of the kingdom; until the inhabitants formed themselves into voluntary confederations for the protection of their persons and properties. In their turn, the latter, too, became a curse to their country. No sooner had they attained the object of their association, than, conscious of their own strength, and smarting under the oppression they had so long endured from their feudal lords, they commenced, in many places, an

* This prelate's name deserves to be remembered: it was Alfonso Carillo, the most turbulent man of a turbulent age.

open war against that privileged class. The lords, in self-defence, confederated in a similar manner; and, as might be expected, were victorious wherever their opponents ventured to meet them. Thus continued the face of affairs until 1467, when Enrique resolved to risk a battle with the rebels. He met them near Olmedo, where, after a fierce but indecisive struggle, both armies left the field, each boasting of the victory. While each was collecting reinforcements to try the event of another action, arrived a papal legate, who endeavoured to reduce the rebels to reason, and who was so imprudent as to threaten them with the thunders of the church unless they laid down their arms and submitted their complaints to arbitration. Such thunders passed harmless over their heads: they could argue as well as he; and, in one respect at least, with far greater justice. They admitted the pope's power in matters purely spiritual; but contended that he had not the slightest in such as were temporal: the present they clearly showed to be a case where neither faith nor discipline was concerned; and one in which both the legate and his master were two intermeddlers, whose presumption ought to be punished. Three hundred tongues at once hooted him from the camp of the confederates: to avoid something worse, he hastily mounted his mule, and fled. This event, however, did not prevent the king from meeting the leaders at Segovia, where a suspension of arms was agreed on. The following year, his rival, the infante Alfonso, died,—an event highly favourable to the king. The rebels, indeed, proposed to raise the infanta Isabel, his sister, to the throne, and thereby perpetuate their own impunity; but that princess, who had principles and an understanding far above her years, refused to accept the criminal dignity, or to become the tool of a few factious rebels. Though she was proclaimed at Seville, and other parts of Andalusia, the treason was not hers, but her pretended partisans'. Some of the discontented lords now returned to their duty; finally, peace was made between the king and

the rest: Isabel and Enrique met with every appearance of good-will; and that princess was recognised, both by him and the great body of the barons and deputies, as the undoubted heiress of the two crowns. The queen, indeed, protested against this arrangement in favour of her daughter; but her complaints passed unheeded.*

1469. In the same year was laid the foundation of an union which was to prove of such unbounded value to Spain: Juan II. of Aragon solicited the hand of Isabel of Castile for his son and heir don Fernando, king of Sicily. The overture was formally received by the princess; but obstacles of so formidable a nature intervened, that, for some time, there was little hope of a successful issue to the negotiations. Neither the king nor the queen wished to see the cause of Isabel supported by so powerful a neighbour as the future monarch of Aragon would necessarily be. Besides, several barons, who had followed the fortunes of Enrique, and procured great estates at the expense of the infanta's adherents, naturally dreaded her accession in any case, especially if there should be a junction of her power with that of Aragon. Such, however, was the eagerness of Juan to conclude the match; such the sums he distributed among the Castilian nobles; and so powerful the interference of the archbishop of Toledo in the cause, that her adherents decided on bringing the affair as soon as possible to a conclusion. The whole negotiation was secretly conducted; the rather as the princess was sought both by the duke de Berri, brother to the French king, and by the monarch of Portugal, whose agents were sure to oppose every obstacle in their

* Hernando del Pulgar, Cronica de los Señores Reyes Catolicos, part i. Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica, lib. iv. cap. 36—40. This writer's work, the latter part of which is chiefly an encomium on the character of Enrique, ends in 1469: he is a very useful guide. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xiii.—xviii. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 567. Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Decades, dec. 1. lib. i. cap. 2—6. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, p. 703, &c. (apud eundem, tom. iii.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon (in regno Juan II.). Mariana, De Rebus Hispanicis (apud Schottum, tom. iv.); with many others.

power to the union with Aragon. For a time she was a prisoner in Madrigal, where it was evidently intended to detain her until she gave her consent to either the Portuguese or the Frenchman. The former was considered too old to have issue, the latter was too far removed to be dreaded. She contrived to acquaint her friends with her unexpected position. The primate immediately collected 300 lances, and marched to her relief: the admiral of Castile and the bishop of Curia did the same: she was released, and triumphantly escorted to Valladolid. Fernando was invited to hasten from Aragon with all possible expedition, while Enrique was absent in Andalusia, and receive his bride. As he was likely to be intercepted on his reaching the Castilian territory, he assumed a suitable disguise, and with three attendants only, eluded the design of his enemies. On the 25th of October, 1469, the royal pair received the nuptial benediction in the cathedral of Valladolid.

No sooner was Enrique acquainted with this precipitate marriage, than he resolved to leave no measure untried for securing the crown to the Beltraneja. To the deputations of his sister and brother-in-law, who professed the utmost fidelity towards his person, and obedience to his commands; and who entreated him to forgive a step rendered necessary by circumstances, he either returned no answers at all, or such as were studiously evasive. The profusion with which he lavished lands, lordships, and other honours, on the more powerful barons, proved how anxious he was to effect his object. But his attention was long distracted, and his efforts rendered abortive, by the troubles which lacerated his kingdom. There was no longer a government: one baron made war on another, and one class of the community on another, with perfect impunity, and with perfect contempt of their sovereign's authority. It was not until 1470 that he had either leisure or courage to cause his reputed daughter to be proclaimed heiress to his dominions. At the same time he caused letters to be addressed to the functionaries, civil, military, and

1469 to 1474.

ecclesiastical, of his kingdom, commanding them to regard the said infanta Juana as their future sovereign. On the other hand, the princess Isabel was not backward in publishing her claims; the validity of which had been recognised by Enrique himself. Hence the nation was divided into two parties, which pursued each other with unrelenting animosity. In some towns the streets were deluged with blood by their contentions; but it may be doubted whether private passion had not quite as much influence in these disorders as attachment to either party. On the whole, however, the partisans of Isabel increased, while Enrique was unable to find his pretended daughter a husband and protector in any of the neighbouring royal families. To suspend, at least, the strife which had so long raged between the parties, he was persuaded, in 1473, to hold an interview with his sister; and the pleasure which he evidently took in seeing her, made her adherents hope that he would again sanction her rights. The hope was strengthened, when, at Segovia, early in the following year, he showed considerable attention to Fernando himself. But this king was too fickle in disposition and too mutable in character to persevere long in any given line of conduct: he again sought for an opportunity of entrapping and imprisoning the infanta and her husband; but his purpose was divined and eluded.

This weak monarch, — weak even to helplessness, — died near the close of 1474; by his last will he declared the young Juana his successor, and charged four of his most considerable barons with its execution. The desire of wiping away the stain on his manhood did not forsake him even on the verge of the grave.*

* Hernando del Pulgar, Cronica de los Señores Reyes Catolicos, Don Fernando y Doña Isabel, part i. p. 1—9. Diego del Castilla, Francisco de la Cruz, and Diego de Palencia (as quoted by Ferreras, tom. vii. passim). Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, dec. 1. lib. 1. cap. 2—10. et lib. ii. cap. 1—10. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 567. Lucius Marineus Siculus, lib. xviii. Gomecius de Rebus Gestis Francisci Ximenis, lib. i. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, p. 74. (apud eundem, tom. iii.). Mariana, De Rebus Hispanicis (apud eundem, tom. iv.). Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. iv. (in regno Juan II.). Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. vii. liv. 28. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne (by Hermilly), tom. vii. passim, cum aliis.

FERNANDO V. and ISABEL. — On the death of Juan, 1474.
Fernando was at Saragossa; but his consort, being at Segovia, summoned that city to acknowledge her, and was instantly obeyed: by the nobles and prelates present, both were solemnly proclaimed joint sovereigns of Castile and Leon. On his return from Aragon, there was much dispute as to the power he was to exercise in the administration. While one party contended that the undivided executive ought to depend on the queen, as *domina et hæres* of the monarchy, another maintained that he alone should govern; since, in default of male issue by the deceased king, the crown devolved of right to him as the next heir. But the salic law had never been in force in this kingdom, however it might be recognised in some neighbouring states. After frequent and acrimonious consultations, it was agreed that the king and queen should reign conjointly, and that, in all public acts, his name should precede hers; but, to save her rights, or rather to satisfy Castilian jealousy, it was no less stipulated, that without her express sanction he should not have power to alienate any portion of the royal revenues or domains, nor to nominate the governors of towns or fortresses. These restrictions were far from pleasing to Fernando, who was immoderately fond of power; and who, at first, even threatened to return into his hereditary kingdom. His indignation was disarmed by the prudence of the queen, who, by promising submission to his will, averted so fatal a misfortune.

But if the majority of the people were in favour of 1475.
the new reign, there were yet many barons, and those of considerable influence, who espoused the interests of Juana; not so much from attachment to that princess, whose birth they, in common with the rest of the nation, considered dubious *, as from a view to their own indi-

* "Upon his demise (Enrique's), rejecting Joanna, whom Henry had uniformly, and even on his death-bed, owned to be his lawful daughter, and whom an assembly of the states had acknowledged to be the heir of the kingdom, they (the Castilians) obliged her to retire into Portugal, and placed Isabella on the throne of Castile."— *Robertson's Charles the Fifth,*

vidual advantage. Under the reign of a sovereign so feeble as Juana, they were likely to enjoy much greater impunity than under one so able and vigorous as Isabel, aided by the arm and counsels of her cautious, calculating, ambitious, and jealous husband. The marquis of Villena, with other barons of the same party, resolved to marry the young princess to Alfonso V. of Portugal, assisted by whose arms they hoped to make head against the reigning pair. They were soon joined by the primate, who, conceiving that he was not treated with sufficient distinction at court, threw the weight of his influence into the scale of rebellion. The sovereigns at once perceived the troubles which would agitate the realm, perhaps for years; and, with more humanity than policy, they endeavoured to gain over the marquis. His demands, however, were so unblushingly exorbitant, that they considered it better to endure the evils of war than submit to the selfish pretensions of a rebellious subject. Equally fruitless was the application to the archbishop of Toledo, who would listen to no terms; and who insolently threatened to make the queen resume the distaff. Alfonso readily embraced the proposals of the disaffected: he collected troops, and at the same time, as the uncle of Juana, applied to the pope for a dispensation to celebrate the marriage.

1475 to 1479. However important the stake for which the two parties now began to contend, the details of that contention are too obscure in themselves, and were too indecisive, to merit minute attention. Though the Portuguese

ii. 4. Here are some inaccuracies. 1. That Enrique should consider Juana his own daughter will surprise nobody; but this does not prove that she really was: the historian, in concealing the almost universal impression as to her illegitimacy, does not state the case with sufficient candour. 2. The recognition of Juana by an assembly of the states is as little to the purpose: by a similar assembly had Isabel been declared successor. 3. The Castilians, as we shall soon perceive, did not force Juana to retire into Portugal: on the contrary, she might have remained in Castile: besides, the Castilians had nothing to do with her destiny, which was regulated entirely by the kings of Castile and Portugal. Neither is it correct to say that Enrique was a "vicious prince:" weak he was—childishly so—but not vicious. His early disobedience to his father was the error of youth, and more imputable to the turbulent spirits around him than to himself. "Fuit natura clementior," says one who knew him well, "quam regnorum gubernatores decet."—*Ad. Ant. Nebris.*

obtained some partial successes, among others the strong fortress of Zamora, the war was decidedly in favour of the Castilian sovereigns: in the very first campaign the marquis of Villena had the mortification to see his hereditary domains in possession of the royal forces; while many of the towns and forts, which had at first declared for Juana, returned to their duty. In 1476 the Portuguese king was compelled to retreat from Zamora, which was invested by Fernando: near Toro he was overtaken by his active enemy, and a battle ensued, in which victory declared for the latter *: it was immediately followed by the surrender of the fortress. About the same time, Madrid, which had held for Juana, capitulated to the duke del Infantado: Ucles followed the example. Both the marquis and the primate were now tired of their ally and their cause; but Alfonso himself long refused all proposals of accommodation. Duped by Charles VIII. of France, who was then at war with Fernando's father, and who promised to aid him; mortified at the revocation of the papal dispensation, on the ground of its having been obtained by false pretences; deserted by his Castilian adherents, who began to negotiate for pardon with their sovereign; his cause condemned by the church, and his kingdom tired of the contest, he himself, at length, listened to pacific proposals. Negotiations were accordingly opened; and, in September, 1479, satisfactorily concluded at Alcacebas. The principal conditions were, that Alfonso should renounce the title of king of Castile; that he should neither marry, nor in any way favour the pretensions of doña Juana; that "this pretended daughter of the late king, don Enrique," should be allowed six months to decide whether she would wait until the infante Juan (only child of Fernando and Isabel, then only a year old,) arrived at a marriageable age, or take

* In this battle it was somewhat singular to see two eminent ecclesiastical dignitaries, the cardinal de Mendoza and the archbishop of Toledo, fighting on opposite sides. There was something not exactly apostolic in the former's hastening along the Castilian ranks, with a crucifix borne before him, shouting, "Knaves, fight away! have ye not a cardinal with you?"

the veil; that the Portuguese should restore the few places they still held in Estremadura. It was added, that if, on arriving at a proper age, the infante should be averse to the match, he had only to pay 100,000 pistoles to be at liberty to marry whom he pleased. The unfortunate lady, seeing that she was sacrificed to the interests of the two kings, professed in the convent of St. Clair at Coimbra.

1479. The very year in which peace was thus happily restored between Castile and Portugal, Fernando, by the death of his father, Juan II., was called to the throne of Aragon. Having received the homage, and confirmed the privileges of his Aragonese subjects at Saragossa, of the Catalonians at Barcelona, and of the Valencians in the capital of that province, he returned into Castile.*

The reign of Fernando and Isabel was distinguished for many uncommon things. First, they were noted for a rigid administration of justice: neither for money nor favour would they spare the guilty. This severity was the more necessary, as, from the licence of the preceding reigns, the laws had fallen into neglect, or been displaced by brute force. The local judges were too much afraid of the armed nobles to punish excesses; nor durst the unprotected complain of their wrongs. To see that these magistrates performed their duties with integrity and independence, extraordinary judges or corregidores were despatched into every part, to survey their conduct, as well as to control their sentences; but as this was not sufficient to eradicate an evil of so long duration, through the advice of Alfonso de Quintanilla, grand-

* Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Decades, dec. i. lib. 1—7. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xviii. et xix. Franciscus Tarapha, de Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 568. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii (apud eundem, tom. iii.). Mariana, De Rebus Hispanicis, lib. xxiv. (apud eundem, tom. iv.). Hernando del Pulgar, Cronica de los Señores Reyes Catolicos, parte segunda, cap. 1—92. Salazar de Mendoza, Cronica del Gran Cardenal de España, lib. ii. Alfonso de Palencia, Decades (as quoted by Ferreras, Histoire Générale, tom. vi. passim). Zurita, Anales de la Coroña de Aragon, tom. iv. lib. 20. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. vii. liv. 28. p. 29. This last-named author is very accurate and faithful where his own countrymen are not concerned.

treasurer to the confederation which existed in the cities and towns, — and which took cognizance of all violent offences against the laws,—new powers, and a totally new constitution, were added. At the head of this institution, which became formidable alike to robber and rebel, was the king's natural brother, the duke of Villa-Hermosa. The members who constituted this Santa Hermandad, or Holy Brotherhood, were at first 2000 horsemen, and a corresponding number of officers on foot: they had their laws and judges; and were, therefore, intrusted with more extensive powers than the gendarmerie of a neighbouring state. These powers were designed by the artful monarch, to curb the prerogatives of the seignorial nobles, who were as much subjected to it as the other classes of the public.*

If the salutary severity of these sovereigns had been directed only against the perturbators of the public peace, the brightness of their fame would almost have been unclouded. Unfortunately they were equally severe against all who ventured to differ from the established faith. Against apostates,—all converts who, after baptism reverted to Judaism, or the faith of Islam,—their hatred was implacable. In this apostacy, Andalusia was the most conspicuous. At the instance of some ecclesiastics of Seville,— a place more obnoxious than any other to this "pestilence,"—they established a novel tribunal in that city, which should have unlimited power over the property and lives of all religious delinquents,—over all, at least, who, within a given period, did not appear before it, express contrition for their apostacy, and submit to such penance as might be awarded them. The judges were three; all learned in the canon and civil law, and all strictly enjoined to spare no pains in seeking out delinquents, and, after condemnation, in delivering them over to the secular arm. The institution was approved by the pope: who, in the same bull, left the nomination of the inquisitors to the sovereigns and their successors. 1480 to 1484

* See the last chapter of the present book.

The new judges proceeded with vigour in their odious calling. Seville, however, was not the only place where apostasy abounded: it was almost as prevalent in the kingdom of Toledo. In 1483, another papal bull authorised the establishment of similar tribunals in other towns of Castile and Leon, all subject to one supreme head, who, under the title of grand inquisitor, should exercise uncontrolled authority over their proceedings. The first churchman who filled this high dignity was the prior of Santa Cruz, at Segovia, the celebrated don Tomas de Torquemada, a dominican friar, whose soul was inaccessible to pity, and who, in cruelty, might almost pass for an incarnation of the evil principle. Yet there is evidence enough to prove that this extraordinary man was uniformly swayed by a sense of what he considered duty: his manners were mild, his demeanour humble, his austerities severe, if not unexampled. His zeal soon placed him over similar tribunals formed in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, — provinces, however, which were highly indignant at so wanton an innovation on their freedom, and which long but vainly resisted its introduction among them. By all the writers of the period its proceedings were acknowledged to have been characterised by excessive rigour. The tribunal of Seville, alone, in the short space of thirty-six years, — from 1484 to 1520, — consigned 4000 victims to the flames, besides many times that number condemned to the galleys, to a perpetual or limited imprisonment, and other punishments. Humanity shudders at the recital.*

1492 to 1498. The intolerance, no less than the folly, of the catholic sovereigns was still more conspicuous in regard to the

* Æl. Ant. Nebrissensis, Rerum Hispanarum Decades, dec. i. lib. 6. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xx. &c. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom i.). Mariana, De Rebus Hispanicis, lib. 24. (apud eundem, tom. iv.). Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, p. 706. (apud eundem, tom. iii.). Hernando del Pulgar, Cronica de los Señores Reyes Catolicos, parte segunda, cap. 92, &c. Salazar de Mendoza, Cronica del Gran Cardenal de España, lib. iii. Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. iv. lib. 20. Ferreras. Histoire Générale d'Espagne (by Hermilly), tom. vii. Sampiro, Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence de la Monarchie Espagnole, tom. i. chap. 17. et Histoire des Cortes d'Espagne, chap. 22., cum multis aliis.

Jews. Scarcely had they obtained possession of Granada*, then they promulgated a decree, in which all Jews who refused to embrace Christianity were ordered to be expelled the kingdom in six months: they were allowed, within that period, to dispose of their property; but, as they were forbidden to take away its value in the precious metals, they could only change it—doubtless on unfavourable terms—for the produce or manufactures of the Peninsula. That persecuted people were filled with equal astonishment and dismay at this unexpected mandate: nor was it more agreeable to the Christian inhabitants of the commercial towns on the coast, who had long lived on good terms with the Israelites, and who beheld with alarm the fatal blow which their banishment must inevitably inflict on the national industry. Representations to this effect were made to the two sovereigns, not only by the Jews, but by the Christians; but in vain: the current of bigotry had set in too strongly to be stemmed. Many consented to be baptised; but the far greater number, in profound despair, prepared to leave the country of their birth. On the expiration of the period prescribed, 83,000 removed into Portugal, the king of which consented to receive them, on the condition of their submitting to a capitation tax of one crusado for every individual. About 30,000 families retired to France, Italy, and Africa; the means of transport being furnished them by the government. By the Moors—the most detestable, because the most perfidious and cruel nation on earth—they were treated with characteristic barbarity. Many of them were known, and more suspected, to have swallowed precious stones; their living bodies were opened by the savage miscreants. All who fell into Moorish hands were stripped, not only of their substance, but of their very clothing.* Such as escaped, returned gradually,

* These were not the only hardships supported by the exiles:—"Naõ he dizivel a perseguiçaõ que fizeraõ os Mouros, a esta escoria das gentes. Elles os affrontáraõ, os roubaraõ, os escarneceraõ, *e ũ vista dos frais e dos maridas dormiao com as mulheres e as filhas.*"—*Lemos*, viii. 208. The Jewish blood must surely have risen at such scenes.

and in small numbers at a time, to the Peninsula, which, to the converts, held out the hand of hospitality, and even of brotherly affection. Those who proceeded to Portugal were not much more fortunate: no sooner had the avaricious king, Joam II., filled his coffers with their wealth, than he published a similar edict, dooming to hopeless slavery all who, within the period of some months, did not either embrace Christianity or leave the kingdom. Though he seemed afterwards to experience something like human pity, and did not strictly enforce the penalty incurred by the great numbers who remained; and though his successor, Don Manuel, seemed as loth to proceed to extremities, the remonstrances of the Castilian sovereigns at length determined the latter to approve himself a true son of the church. He renewed his predecessor's decree, whom he exceeded in rigour. He not only reduced to slavery all who had no wish to embark, but ordered the children under fourteen years of age, of both exiles and slaves, to be forcibly taken from the parents and baptised. The lamentations of these unhappy wretches would have touched any heart but that of a bigot. Fury in many cases succeeded despair: parents cast their infant children into the sea, or to the bottom of wells, or stabbed them, or strangled them. The king was immovable: he even refused to allow the parents, who now wished to embark, the means of transport: slavery or baptism was the alternative. Many thousands did, at length, profess Christianity with their lips; but must have abhorred it in their hearts.

1499 to 1502. The establishment of the inquisition led to the banishment of the Jews; the latter, in its turn, to the persecution of the Mohammedans. These soon found that their religious toleration, so solemnly guaranteed by the articles of capitulation, would be little respected by a prince who did not always hesitate to break his royal word —nor even his oath—when his interests or his bigotry were concerned. It is certain, that, from the very year in which Granada submitted, the resolution was taken to convert or expel the Moors; but their number, the assist-

ance they might receive from Africa, and the unsettled state of the new conquests, delayed its execution. In 1499, however, Fernando, being at Granada, seriously entered on what he doubtless considered a path of stern but necessary duty. Having assembled some of his counsellors and prelates to deliberate on the proper means of attaining an object so momentous, it was agreed that both end and means should be left to two eminent prelates, — to Francisco Ximenes Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo, and to Fernando de Talavera, metropolitan of Granada. Though zealous in an equal degree for the conversion of the misbelievers, their characters were widely different: the former was rigid and unbending in his measures; the latter, mild and conciliating: the one would have recourse to force; the other to persuasion. In selecting two such opposite instruments, it was, doubtless, intended, that the gentleness of don Fernando should be fortified by the decision of his colleague: through his influence it doubtless was, that the first steps in the great work were of a mild and rational nature. The alfaquis were assiduously courted; were persuaded to dispute on the merits of their respective faiths; and were severally dismissed with presents. Whether through conviction or fear, — through persuasion or interest, these men forsook their old religion, and consented not only to be baptised, but to become the instruments of converting their countrymen. Their example had great effect: thousands applied for admission into the church; and thousands more would have joined them at the same time, but for the fiery zeal of cardinal Cisneros*, which occasioned a serious dis-

* He consumed by fire all the Arabic controversial books he could find, which amounted to 5000 volumes; 'Ergo alfaquinis ad omnia obsequia eo tempore exhibenda promptis (money was here efficaciously employed), Alchoranos, id est, suæ superstitionis gravissimos libros, et omnes cujuscunque authoris et generis essent Mahometanæ impietatis radices, facilè sine edicto aut vi, ut in publicum adducerentur impetravit. Quinque millia voluminum sunt fere congregata," &c. — *Gomecius, de Rebus Gestis Ximenii*, lib. i. Who taught the prelate to distinguish the controversial from other works? Literature has probably reason to curse this zealot's memory: we know not that any were spared by this mitred Goth, except "aliquot ad rem medicam pertinentia." Yet this very man was the editor of the celebrated Complutensian polyglot!

turbance in the quarter of the Albaycin, wholly occupied by Moors. Seeing that some of their body, who protested against the prelate's violence, were by his order conducted to prison, they arose, murdered an obnoxious alguazil, and hastened to don Francisco's hotel, which they assailed.* It was found that the interests of the church militant were confided to good hands: he fought with great spirit; and, though importuned by his servants to save himself in the impregnable fortress of the Alhambra, he disdained to leave his post, and expressed his resolution to share in the common danger. The commotion continued for several days: the whole Albaycin was in arms; and the insurrection would have spread farther, but for the virtuous intrepidity of the metropolitan of Granada. Though a messenger of peace had been stoned to death the preceding day by the Moors of that quarter, he resolved to go among them, and persuade them to lay down their arms. Accompanied by a single chaplain, with the cross borne before him, this excellent man appeared suddenly among them, with his usual serene countenance, and the same affectionate manner. In a moment every murmur was hushed: numbers flocked round him to kiss his garments; and, in the sequel, obeyed his exhortations, by laying down their arms. In the mean time, the king, who had been made acquainted with the insurrection, blamed the undue zeal of the Toledan archbishop. That prelate, however, whose eloquence was great, and whose intentions were appreciated, contrived to regain the royal favour, and was permitted to pursue his career of conversion. But the mischief was not yet ended: if the

* One of these delinquents was a zegri, who, as he exclaimed loudly against the violence adopted, was confined, by the archbishop's order, in a prison of more than usual strength, and heavily fettered; as he was a bold-spirited man. One of the prelate's clerical domestics, Pedro Leon by name, was shut up with him, as much to tame his ferocity as to effect his conversion. What passed between them we know not, but there is reason to believe that the fierce Moor was more beaten than argued into repentance. The Moor insisted on being brought before the cardinal, demanded baptism, and declared that no Mohammedan, if shut up with the Castilian as he had been, could long withstand this ferocissimus leo; "cui si nostri semel committantur, nemo erit qui non illico Christianus fiat!"—*Gomecius*, p. 959

inhabitants of Granada were tranquil for a time, those of the neighbouring towns,—those especially who abode in the mountains of the Alpujarras,—were filled with fury at the forcible attempts made to seduce their brethren from the faith of the prophet; and they flew to arms. The king himself marched to reduce them; pursued them into the heart of their hills; forced or persuaded them to submit, and to surrender both their fortified places and their arms. His success emboldened him to more decisive measures: missionaries were despatched, wherever there was a Mohammedan village, to preach the necessity of immediate conversion: and the efficacy of their labours was not a little owing to the armed bodies of soldiers who accompanied them. Terrified by the recent fate of the Jews, whole towns submitted to baptism; the more willingly, perhaps, as no previous instruction was forced upon them: there was no time for catechism or preaching: hundreds were sprinkled with holy water at the same time; the same prayers were repeated over them, and then they stood cleansed in the laver of regeneration! That such conversions could not be very durable, need not surprise us. The following year, the independent mountaineers again revolted, and massacred all the Christians on whom they could lay hands. They were again reduced; 10,000 submitted to the necessary rite; while a greater number fled to their African brethren. A third time, in the space of a very few months, were the embers of discontent fanned into a flame,—partly by the injudicious zeal of the Christian priests, partly by the strong breath of indignation. This insurrection was the most difficult to quell: one or two partial successes were obtained over the royal troops; but, on the appearance of Fernando in person, with a formidable power, the revolted fortresses submitted. Again did thousands obtain his permission to settle on the opposite coast, and bade a final adieu to the Peninsula. By their departure, those who remained were still less able to make head against the victor, who no longer hesitated to issue his irrevocable decree of expulsion

against every obstinate follower of the Arabian prophet. It was punctually executed: such as refused to embrace Christianity, joined their brethren in Morocco.*

1484 to 1494. In other respects, the policy of Fernando was as enlightened as it was beneficial to the country. The great barons had been too powerful for his predecessors: to curtail their immunities was his constant object. By encouraging the confederations of the towns, he effectually destroyed their influence over those places; and, by subjecting them to the ordinary tribunals of justice, he still farther reduced them towards a level with his other subjects. The revocation of the profuse grants made to certain powerful favourites, — a revocation solicited by the assembled states in cortes, and vigorously carried into effect, — brought him still nearer to his end. But, so long as the mastership of the great military orders was conferred on the leading barons, the monarchy could never be secure: the means thus placed at the disposal of the ambitious, in addition to those hereditarily acquired, rendered the subject too formidable, if not for the sovereign's existence, at least, for his peace. To vest this dignity in the crown was his great object. On the death of the grand master of Calatrava, he forbade the election, assumed the administration of the order, and procured the papal sanction to its perpetual union with the crown. In 1493, by the death of the grand master of Santiago, he assumed the administration of that order also. Being thus fortunately possessed of the orders of Calatrava and Santiago, in 1494, he bribed don Juan de Zuñiga, grand master of Alcantara, to resign that dignity also, which, in like manner, became for ever merged in the person of the reigning monarch.

* Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Rerum Hispanarum Decades, dec. i. et ii. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xxi. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 569. Alvarus Gomecius, De Rebus Gestis à Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio, lib. i. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Mariana, De Rebus Hispanicis, lib. xxvii. (apud eundem, tom. iv.). Zurita, Historia del Rey Hernando el Catolico, tom. i. lib. 1—3. Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, p. 707. (apud Schottum, tom. iii. Marmol Carvajal, Historia del Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada, tom. i. lib. 1. Condé, as spoiled by Marlés, Histoire de la Domination des Arabes, &c. en Espagne, tom. iii.; cum aliis.

The final subjugation of the Mohammedans, the consolidation of the royal power, the union of Aragon to Castile and Leon, were noble monuments of Fernando's policy. The discovery of a new world by the famous navigator, Christopher Columbus, still more strongly attracts the notice of posterity to this splendid reign. Into the vast field of American discovery, colonisation, and history, whether by Spaniards or Portuguese, — a subject which, to do it justice, would require as many volumes as this compendium itself, — we cannot enter; and, fortunately, most of the works on this subject are of so easy access*, that our silence need not be regretted. To Isabel must be ascribed the glory of the enterprise. At first she received with natural coldness the proposals of this wonderful man; but overcome at length by the representation of a monk, the friend of Columbus, and still more by the resistless reasoning of the navigator himself, whom she admitted to her presence, she borrowed the sum of money necessary for the armament, and bade him depart. This was in April, 1492. In the same month of the following year, he returned from his first voyage, bringing with him a considerable quantity of gold, silver, and other productions of the New

1492 to 1494.

* See Raynal, Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes; Robertson's History of America; and De Solis, History of the Discovery and Conquest of Mexico. The reader who wishes to acquire a more extensive and more *accurate* insight — for Raynal has many blunders, and Robertson many more — into this interesting subject, may consult Barcia, Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales, 3 vols. fol. Madrid, 1740; Cortes, Historia de Nueva España, Mexico, fol. 1770; Garcilasso de la Vega, Historia General del Peru, ó Comentarios Reales de los Incas, 17 vols. 12mo. Madrid, 1800-3; Herrera, Descripcion de las Islas y Tierra-firma del Mar Oceano, &c. 4 vols. fol. Madrid, 1730; Barros, Asia, Feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram na Conquista e Descubrimento das Terras e Mares do Oriente, 24 vols. 8vo. Lisbon, 1779; Colleccion de los Viages y Decubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde fines del Siglo XV., compiled by Navarrete, Madrid, 1825, &c., of which three volumes only have yet appeared, but which promises to contain, beyond all comparison, the best elements for a history of Spanish discovery. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal e suas Conquistas, 20 vols. 12mo. Lisbon, 1786, &c. We have not seen Southey's History of Brazil, 3 vols. 4to.; but, from the unrivalled acquaintance of that writer with the original authorities, there can be no doubt of its superior merit. A comprehensive history of maritime discovery, of subsequent conquests and colonisation, is, and will probably for ever continue to be, a desideratum in our literature, as it is at present in that of every other European country. Raynal did not possess the requisite research, even for a more limited undertaking.

World, with several Indians,—convincing proofs of his successful adventure. The extraordinary honours with which he was received by the astonished sovereigns,—being permitted to remain seated in their presence, and created admiral of the Indies, with suitable means of supporting the dignity,—encouraged him to new enterprises. With a fleet of eighteen vessels, containing 1200 seamen, 300 mechanics, 12 priests, to convert the heathens, and a considerable number of horses, sheep, &c., he again left Spain, in the month of September, 1493, and happily reached his destination. On returning from this second voyage, being driven by stress of weather into the port of Lisbon, he was compelled to acquaint don Joam with the productions, climate, and riches of the New World; and the monarch's eagerness for wealth and empire was so excited, that he resolved to fit out some vessels of discovery in the same direction. But as, by a papal bull, the sovereignty both of the regions which had been, and might thenceforward be, discovered was conferred on Fernando and his successors, Joam could not decently bid the expedition depart until he had given notice of his intention to the Castilian sovereigns. He could produce papal bulls, as well as they, which had been conceded to his predecessors, and in virtue of which he conceived that he had an exclusive right to the discovery and dominion of the countries. As both thus founded their claim on the fancied power of Christ's vicar to confer the kingdoms of the world on whom he pleased, the affair was submitted to the pope, who sagely decided that a meridian drawn from north to south, 100 leagues westward of the meridian of the Canaries, should bound the mutual possessions and right of maritime discovery of the two kings. But the Portuguese was dissatisfied with the narrow limits assigned him: he renewed his remonstrances to Fernando: the affair was submitted to arbitration; and, after much dispute, it was agreed that the boundary of the Portuguese claim should be extended to 370 leagues westward of the Cape de Verd

islands. Thus comfortably did the two monarchs divide between themselves the maritime dominion of the globe; nor could they see how soon the rude hands of the English and Dutch would break their sceptre.

But the happiness of the catholic sovereigns was not commensurate with the splendour which surrounded them. To whom must their magnificent empire devolve? In 1497, the infante Juan, their only son, whom they had just married to the archduchess Margarita of Austria, died, and his widow was soon afterwards brought to bed of a still-born child. Hence their daughters only remained through whom they could hope to transmit their sceptre to posterity; but even in this expectation they were doomed to much disappointment. Doña Isabel, the eldest of the princesses, who was married to the heir of the Portuguese monarchy, was left a widow as soon as the archduchess Margarita; and though she was next given to her brother-in-law, don Manuel, now become king of Portugal, and the following year was delivered of a son, she died at the time; nor did the young prince, the acknowledged heir of the whole Peninsula, Navarre excepted, long survive her. Still, to be prepared against every possible contingency, they married another daughter, the princess Maria, to the Lusitanian widower; and their youngest, Catherine, destined to be so famous from her connection with the English reformation, first to Arthur prince of Wales, and next to Henry, his brother, afterwards Henry VIII. Their hopes of an heir, however, rested in their second daughter, Juana, the wife of Philip archduke of Austria, who, in 1500, was delivered of a prince, afterwards the celebrated Charles V. Thus, the crown of Spain was to devolve on a foreign brow, — the first example of the kind which had occurred from the foundation of the monarchy by Pelayo. Their disappointments, too, were embittered by the unhappiness of their children. The princess Isabel, who had always shown more affection for the cloister than for the throne, had been forced into the marriage, and died a premature and painful death.

1497 to 1500.

Juana, though extravagantly fond of her husband, was treated by him with the most marked neglect; and the fate of Catherine is but too well known.

1504. The misfortunes of her children sunk deeply into the heart of the queen, and brought on a melancholy which ended in her death, at Medina del Campo, in 1504. In her last will she left her daughter Juana, and after that princess her grandson Charles, heirs to the monarchy. As Juana was too weak in understanding to be intrusted with the cares of government, she appointed her husband regent of the kingdom, until Charles should attain his twentieth year. In this disposition she consulted both her own inclination and the interests of her people; as she had a natural dislike to the vain, weak, and profligate Philip, and knew that the administration could not be continued in abler hands than those which held it. To Fernando, too, she bequeathed the administration of the three military orders during his life, and half the revenues of the Indies.

If we except our Elizabeth, and Catherine of Russia, no princess of modern times can equal Isabel in ability, or in the success of her administration: and, in the qualities of her heart, in Christian fervour, and an unspotted life, how far does she not exceed either! Prudent in the formation, yet prompt in the execution, of her plans; severe towards guilt, yet merciful towards misfortune; unbending in her purposes, yet submissive to her husband; of rigid virtue, yet indulgent to minor frailties; devout without ostentation, and proud without haughtiness; feeling towards the pains of others, yet exhibiting no sentiment of her own*, she might well command the respect, no less than the affection, of her people. Of her humble piety an anecdote is related, with great applause, by catholic writers. When the sovereigns of Castile were at confession, it was usual for the priest to kneel at the same time with themselves. The first

* "Guardaba tanto la continencia del rostro que aun en los tiempos de sus partos encubria su sentimiento, y forzabase à no mostrar ni decir la pena que en aquella hora sientan y muestran las mugeres."—*Hernando del Pulgar*, ii. 37.

time she attended this duty, after her elevation to the throne, she knelt; but the priest, Fernando de Talavera, quietly seated himself beside her. On her expressing some surprise that he also did not kneel, the friar replied, "This, señora, is the tribunal of God, whom I here represent, and I shall therefore remain seated; your highness will continue to kneel!" After her devotions were concluded, instead of expressing any resentment, she observed to an attendant, "This is just the director I have long sought!" The friar became archbishop of Granada. Her only defect — yet it is surely great enough — is her approval of the infernal tribunal which consigned to torture, imprisonment, or death, so many thousands of her subjects. Strange that this very lady, whom sufferings so exquisite could not move, should have been the constant and successful advocate of the Moors, whenever any town or fortress was taken by storm.*

JUANA AND PHILIP I. Before Isabel breathed her last, the dissensions commenced which so much embittered the life of her husband. That, by the Castilian laws, Juana was now both queen and proprietor of the kingdom, and that Philip, in right of his marriage, might claim not only the regal title, but a considerable share in the administration, were admitted by many. On the other hand, the last will of Isabel, who had constituted her husband regent until the majority of Charles — the experience of that prince — the success of his past government — the solid benefits which he had conferred on the state, — and the unpopular character of Philip, as well as his ignorance of the language, laws, and manners of Castile, — induced all the sober-judging and patriotic part of the nation to wish for a continuance of the 1504.

* Zurita, Historia del Rey Hernando el Catolico, tom. i. lib. 2 — 5. Lucius Marineus Siculus, De Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xxi. Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 568. Alvarus Gomecius, De Rebus Gestis Francisci Ximenii, lib. iii. et iv. (omnes apud Schottum, Hispanica Illustrata, tom. i.). Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, p. 707. (apud eundem, tom. iii. Mariana, De Rebus Hispanicis, lib. xxvii. (apud eundem, tom. iv.). Moret, Anales del Reyno de Navarra, tom. iii. Lemos, Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. viii. et ix. Ferreras, Histoire Générale Espagne, by Hermilly, tom. viii.; cum aliis.

present rule. Unfortunately, however, the momentous question was agitated with more prejudice than reason. The efforts of Fernando to curb the violence of the aristocracy — his prudent economy — his firm sway, — and the aversion of many Castilians to the sole domination of an Aragonese, had created many enemies. More hoped that, under a weak and lenient prince like Philip, their love of power and their avarice would be equally gratified. Hence, it is no wonder that an opposition, at once systematic and violent, was formed to the pretensions of Fernando, — an opposition too loud to permit the soft whisper of policy or gratitude to be heard.

1504 to 1506. Fernando was fond of power; and his first steps showed that he would strive to maintain it. Having caused his daughter and her husband to be proclaimed queen and king of Castile, he convoked the cortes at Toro, early in 1505, to procure their sanction to his regency. The majority readily granted it; but not a few of the discontented, because disappointed, nobles retired from Toro in disgust, assembled others of the same faction at Valladolid, and wrote letters to Philip, then governor of Flanders, pressing him to come and assume the administration of the kingdom. The archduke, eager to seize his consort's inheritance, had the insolence to order his father-in-law to retire into Aragon, against whose every act of government, since the death of Isabel, he equally protested. Fernando replied, that the affair must be settled by negotiation; — that in no case would he resign the regency until his daughter and son-in-law arrived in Castile. At the same time, he solicited from the queen, then with her husband in Flanders, the confirmation of his powers as regent. She caused the instrument to be prepared; but the treachery of a servant exposed the intrigue to Philip, who placed her in close confinement, and lost even the semblance of respect towards her. The latter also entered into an alliance with Charles VIII. of France, the enemy of Fernando, by whose aid he hoped to make head against the regent.

In the mean time, the factious nobles, who, though constituting a minority in point of numbers, were all-powerful from their stations and alliances, continually urged Philip to appear among them, and throw every obstacle in the path of the regent. Seeing the ungrateful return of a people for whom he had done so much, — whose glory and happiness he had so successfully laboured to promote, — and still more offended, perhaps, with the insults of his profligate son-in-law, the king of Aragon seriously planned a suitable revenge: it was, to re-marry *, and leave to the issue arising from it the kingdom of Naples, which he had united with Aragon, or, perhaps, even Aragon itself. Concealing his long enmity towards Charles, he solicited the hand of Germaine de Foix, niece of that monarch, who eagerly granted it. This intelligence was a thunderbolt to Philip, who now consented to negotiate; and it was accordingly agreed, by the agents of the two princes, at Salamanca, that the kingdom should be governed by Juana, Fernando, and Philip,— each possessing equal authority; and that all public instruments should bear the three names. The Austrian, however, had no intention of observing the treaty: early in 1506, he embarked for Spain with his consort; but contrary winds forced him to England, where he was detained, during three months, by the ungenerous policy of Henry VII. The king of France had refused him a passage through that kingdom until he had come to a better understanding with

* "Exasperated at this universal defection, and mortified, perhaps, at seeing all his schemes defeated by a younger politician, Ferdinand resolved, in defiance of the law of nations and of decency, to deprive his daughter and her posterity of the crown of Castile, rather than renounce the regency of that kingdom. His plan for accomplishing this was no less bold than the intention itself was wicked. He demanded in marriage Joanna, the supposed daughter of Henry IV." &c.—*Robertson's Charles V.*, vol. ii.

Surely this historian must have known that this pretended negotiation with the Portuguese king was but a calumny, invented by the enemies of Fernando, to discredit him with the people. By no contemporary writer is it mentioned otherwise than *a rumour*, and by all it is treated with the contempt it deserves. The age of the princess, which was full forty-four years, sufficiently exposes the malignity. The boldness of the historian's relation, and of his appeal to authorities which are either silent on the subject, or opposed to him, is not the least unaccountable feature of the case.

the regent: — in fact, Charles could not, as a close ally of Fernando, permit an expedition through his states, evidently hostile to that ally. When Fernando heard of the archduke's embarkation, he caused prayers to be offered up for a prosperous voyage, and ordered a fleet to be equipped to convoy the new sovereigns into the Peninsula. He had just celebrated his marriage with the princess Germaine, when his daughter and the archduke landed at Coruña.*

1506. No sooner was Philip landed, than the nobles disaffected to Fernando hastened to meet him, and, by their sinister reports, to increase his jealousy of the regent. To dissipate his suspicions, Fernando sent the archbishop Ximenes, his steadfast counsellor, who was charged with the appropriate duty of restoring concord between the two princes. But the arrogance of Philip, who was entirely led by the advice of his Flemings and the discontented Castilians, caused him, not only to do every thing which he knew would mortify his father-in-law, but to refuse an interview frequently requested by Fernando. From the levity — we might add, the perfidy — with which he annulled the treaty of Salamanca, and openly declared his resolution to expel Fernando from Castile, the latter, though still disposed to peace, saw that it was high time for him to prepare for the worst. He ordered troops to be raised, both to vindicate his own right, and to rescue his daughter from the ignominious restraint in which she was kept by her husband. Owing, however, to the artful representations of the disaffected barons, the party of Philip increased daily, and Fernando was, at length, compelled to resign the regency into the hands of the archduke alone, Juana being by

* "They (Philip and Juana) were obliged, by a violent tempest, to take shelter in England, where Henry VII., in compliance with Ferdinand's solicitations, detained them upwards of three months: at last, they were permitted to depart; and, after a more prosperous voyage, they arrived in safety at Corunna, in Galicia (April 28); nor durst Ferdinand attempt, as he had once intended, to oppose their landing by force of arms." — *Robertson*, ii. 13.

All this is at varianee with both truth and probability; nor does Ferreras, the only authority cited for this unjust declamation, afford the slightest ground for it!

both considered incompetent to govern. He retained the grandmastership and administration of the three military orders, with the other legacies of Isabel; and, after two interviews with Philip, returned to his hereditary dominions.*

Having gained the object of his ambition, Philip convoked the cortes at Valladolid, in the hope that he should procure their consent to the removal of the queen from all affairs; in other words, to her perpetual confinement, on the ground of her incapacity. The opposition, however, which he there encountered, made him abandon his iniquitous purpose. All that the states would do was, to swear allegiance to Juana as their natural sovereign, to him as her consort, and to acknowledge the archduke Charles, their son, as heir to the crown. Before he had time to become unpopular, he fell suddenly sick at Burgos, and died in five months after his arrival in Spain, and three from the commencement of his administration. The grief of the queen knew no bounds: in four hours after his death, she had the corpse embalmed, removed to her own apartment, and laid, magnificently arrayed, on a splendid couch; nor would she quit it, during night or day, for some time.† Perhaps she hoped that the efficacy of her prayers would restore him to life. 1506.

Immediately after Philip's death, the Castilian nobles assembled to consult on the form of government. As the queen refused to give any orders on the subject, they chose a council of seven from among themselves, to 1506 to 1507.

* Alvarus Gomecius, De Rebus Gestis Francisci Ximenii, lib. iii. (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ, p. 568. (in eodem tomo). Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii. (apud eundem, iii. 711.) Mariana, de Rebus Hispanicis, lib. xxviii. cap. 1222. (apud eundem, tom. iv.). Zurita, Historia del Rey Hernando el Catolico, tom. ii. lib. 6. Lemos Historia Geral de Portugal, tom. ix. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d' Espagne, by Hermilly, tom v. iii.

† Childish as was the affection of Juana for her husband, she did not, as Robertson relates, cause the body to be removed from the sepulchre after it was buried, and brought to her apartment. She once visited the sepulchre, and, after affectionately gazing on the corpse, was persuaded to retire.—Mariana, lib. xxix. cap. 3. Robertson seems not to have read, at least not with care, the authorities for the reign of Fernando.

whom they provisionally confided the conduct of affairs. Men with equal authority and conflicting views could not long remain in harmony: they felt that their own power was insecure, and each was anxious to look out for some superior whose favour he might obtain. All perceived that, until prince Charles reached his majority, there must be a regency; that their own jealousies could not confide it to a native; and that there were but two foreigners to whom it could be intrusted,—Fernando, and the emperor Maximilian, father of the deceased king. Of course, the reflecting part of the nation were in favour of the experienced Aragonese; but such as feared his resentment, and, still more, those who knew the vigour of his sceptre, and his frugality, loudly clamoured for the Austrian. The turbulent conduct of the nobles, who began to renew the scenes which had so disgraced the reigns of Juan II. and Enrique IV.; who trampled under foot law and order, and purposed to wrap the kingdom in flames, increased the anxiety, and hastened the exertions of every friend to the public tranquillity. The illustrious Cisneros, above all, one of the temporary regents, spared neither expostulation nor entreaties to ensure the recall of Fernando. That prince was in Italy when he received intelligence of Philip's death. He showed no great haste to return; his emissaries and friends exerted themselves so well in his behalf, that his resumption of the regency was soon acknowledged to be the only means of saving a kingdom already on the brink of ruin. At length, in July, 1507, he disembarked at Valencia, whence he proceeded to Saragossa, where, having appointed his young queen regent of the kingdom, he went into Castile. By his daughter he was immediately invested with the whole power of government, and by degrees his authority was recognised throughout the kingdom. Before him insurrection quailed, the laws resumed their empire, and prosperity revisited the people.

The second administration of this able prince was

signalised by the same splendid effects. In 1509, at the suggestion of cardinal Cisneros, he proposed an expedition against Oran on the African coast. The cardinal not only defrayed the expense, but accompanied it. It was completely successful: Oran was stormed, and forced to receive a Christian garrison. The following year, Bugia, a city on the same coast, was reduced; Algiers, Tunis, Tremecen, and other places, consented that their native governors should be the vassals of Fernando. Another expedition reduced Tripoli. In 1511, he himself was preparing to embark with a formidable armament, to pursue his conquests in that country,—conquests, however, which his own experience proved to be fleeting, — when he was pressed by pope Julian to aid the church against the schismatics under the protection of the king of France and the emperor. As he was even more proud of his title of catholic king than desirous of glory, he despatched an armed force to aid the chief of the church. Into the interminable affairs of Italy, however, — the critical wars which Fernando carried on in that country in defence of his Sicilian and Neapolitan possessions, — we cannot enter. Those possessions were dependent not on Castile, but on Aragon; and to the history of the latter kingdom the reader is referred for an account of the origin and progress of the connection between Sicily, Naples, and Aragon. It is sufficient here to observe, that the war was for some time in favour of the French (the emperor had withdrawn from them), and that the papal allies were defeated. 1507 to 1512.

But this war led to one memorable result, and one not very glorious to Fernando. Wishing to carry hostilities into France, he demanded from Jean d'Albret, king of Navarre, permission to march his troops through that country. The Navarrese refused, but at the same time professed his determination in no way to aid the French monarch, and to remain perfectly neutral. Scarcely, however, had he given this answer, than he entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French king. Resolving to attain his end by force 1512.

and to punish the duplicity of the Navarrese, Fernando assembled his forces at Vittoria, invaded Navarre, and in a short time obtained possession of the whole kingdom, the royal family taking refuge in France. This new conquest, the details of which will be given on a future occasion*, he annexed to his kingdom of Aragon, and successfully defended it against the invasion of the French.

1152 to 1516. Towards the close of his life, this prince still indulged the hope of seeing an heir who should inherit Aragon, Navarre, Naples, and Sicily. This wish arose both from his dislike to the emperor, the grandfather of the archduke Charles, and the whole house of Austria, and from the aversion shown by his hereditary subjects to a union of the crowns. In 1509 his young queen had been delivered of a son, who died in a few days. In 1513 he took a potion which he was persuaded would restore his masculine vigour, but which destroyed his constitution, and produced a lingering illness, that ended in death, January 23. 1516. In his last will he declared his daughter Juana heiress to all his dominions in Spain and Italy, and after her his grandson Charles. The regency of Castile, until his grandson should arrive in Spain, he confided to cardinal Cisneros; and that of Aragon, with the states dependent on it, to his natural son, the archbishop of Saragossa.

Fernando was beyond doubt one of the ablest and best princes that ever swayed the sceptre of Spain. His actions will best bespeak his character. He is justly regarded as the founder of the Spanish monarchy; and though, during the latter years of his life, he wished to undo his own great work, let those bear the blame who thwarted his most salutary designs, who disputed his legitimate authority, and, with the basest ingratitude, returned rebellion and insult for the most signal benefits,—for a life worn out in their service. His chief faults were an immeasurable ambition, and a policy rather tortuous than direct. His memory, however, is

* See the history of Navarre, in the next volume.

held in great reverence in Spain. Notwithstanding his faults, and the hostility of Robertson and the French writers, who array his character and actions in the garb, not of history, but of prejudice and passion, posterity must regard him as the greatest prince of his age.*

* Gomecius, De Rebus Gestis Francisci Ximenii, lib. iv. necnon Antonius Nebrissensis, De Bello Navariensi, et Franciscus Tarapha, De Regibus Hispaniæ (apud Schottum Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.). Blancas, Rerum Aragonesium Commentarii, p. 712—715 (apud eundem, tom. iii.). Mariana, De Rebus Hispanicis, lib. xxx. (apud eundem, tom. iv.). Zurita, Historia del Rey Hernando el Catolico, tom. ii. lib. 8—10. Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne (by Hermilly), tom. viii. Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth, vol. ii. book 1.

APPENDIX A. Page 104.

GENEROSITY OF NARVAEZ.

THE following instance of generosity on the part of a Christian alcalde will not be read without interest, since it proves that, in a brave man, neither national nor religious prejudice can smother the best principles of our nature: —

"On the eve of an expedition, Narvaez (governor of Antequera) detached some horsemen to reconnoitre the country. The men, perceiving no enemy, were returning to Antequera, when, on turning a hill, they suddenly fell in with a Moorish horseman, and made him prisoner. He was a young man, about twenty-three years of age, of prepossessing appearance, richly habited, wearing a sword and buckler of exquisite workmanship, and mounted on a fine horse: he evidently belonged to some distinguished family of the country. He was brought before Narvaez, who asked him who he was, and whither he was going? He replied, in considerable emotion, that he was the son of the alcalde of Ronda; but, on endeavouring to continue his relation, his tears fell in such abundance that he could not add another word. 'Thou surprisest me!' said Narvaez. 'Thy father I know to be an intrepid warrior; but thou weepest like a woman! Dost thou not know that this is one of the ordinary chances of war?'—'I do not lament the loss of my liberty,' replied the Moor; 'but a misfortune a thousand times heavier!' Being pressed to explain the cause of his agitation, he said,—'I have long loved the daughter of a neighbouring alcalde, and that love is returned. This very night was to see her mine: she is now waiting for me, and thy soldiers have detained me. I cannot describe my despair!' —'Thou art a noble cavalier!' replied the compassionate Christian. 'If thou wilt promise to return, I will allow thee to go and see thy mistress.' Full of gratitude, the Moor accepted the condition, and departed: before daylight he reached her dwelling. On learning the cause of his evident dejection, she said,—'Before this fatal moment thou hast always shown affection towards me; and now thou givest me new proofs of it. Thou fearest that if I follow thee I shall lose my liberty, and thou wishest me to remain; but dost thou think me less generous than thyself? My fate must be united with thine: whether free or enslaved, thou shalt always find me at thy side. In this casket are jewels sufficient either to pay thy ransom, or to support us both in slavery!' The two lovers immediately departed, and towards evening arrived at Antequera. They were nobly received by Narvaez, who passed the highest praise on the fidelity of the cavalier, and the affecting devotedness of the maiden: he not only dismissed them both, but loaded them with presents, and sent an escort to conduct them safely to Ronda. The news spread throughout the kingdom of Granada, and became the subject of many romances in which Narvaez was sung by his enemies, — a pleasing reward for his beneficence."— *Marlés' Condé*, iii. 305—308.

APPENDIX B. Page 121.

INAUGURATION OF PELAYO.

(See also Vol. I. p. 182.)

——— "THUS when he ceased,
He gave the awaited signal. Roderic brought
The buckler: eight for strength and stature chosen
Came to their honour'd office: Round the shield
Standing, they lower it for the Chieftain's feet,
Then, slowly raised upon their shoulders, lift
The steady weight. Erect Pelayo stands,
And thrice he brandishes the shining sword,
While Urban * to the assembled people cries,
'Spaniards, behold your king!' The multitude
Then sent forth all their voice with glad acclaim,
Raising the loud *Real:* thrice did the word
Ring through the air, and echo from the walls
Of Cangas. Far and wide the thundering shout,
Rolling among reduplicating rocks,
Peal'd o'er the hills, and up the mountain vales.
The wild ass, starting in the forest glade,
Ran to the covert; the affrighted wolf
Skulk'd through the thicket, to a closer brake;
The sluggish bear, awaken'd in his den,
Roused up, and answer'd with a sullen growl,
Low breathed and long; and, at the uproar scared,
The brooding eagle from her nest took wing."

Southey's Roderic, xviii. 63.

The poem from which these verses are extracted, is one of the finest in the whole range of our modern literature.

APPENDIX C. Page 123.

MIRACLE OF COVADUNGA.

(From Sebastian, bishop of Salamanca.)

"AND when Pelayo knew the approach of the Arabs, he betook himself to a cave, which is called the cave of Santa Maria (St. Mary), and immediately posted his army around it. And Oppas, the bishop, approaching him, thus said: — 'Brother, thou art not ignorant how when all Spain was under the rule of the Goths, and when all her armies were joined together, she was unable to cope with the Ismaelites: how much less will be thy power to defend thyself here in such a strait? Now listen to my advice: relinquish all thoughts of resistance; that, being in peace with the Arabs,

* The archbishop of Toledo, who performed the ceremony.

thou mayst enjoy much prosperity, and preserve whatever thou didst or dost possess.' And Pelayo replied, 'I will neither have the Arabs for friends, nor will I submit to their dominion. Thou dost not perceive that the church of God is like unto the moon; now it decreases, and now it regains its former magnitude. And we trust in God's mercy that from this very hill which thou beholdest, salvation may arise for Spain, and the Gothic army be renewed; so that in us may be fulfilled the saying of the prophet,—'*I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with stripes; but my pity will I not withdraw from them.*' Wherefore, though we have undergone a righteous judgment, we yet believe that there will descend grace from on high for the restoration of our church, our nation, and kingdom. We fear not; we utterly despise this multitude of pagans.'

"Then the wicked bishop returned to the enemy, and said:—'Hasten and fight; for by the sword only shall ye have peace with this man.' Immediately they handle their weapons, and begin the battle: the engines are raised, the missiles fitted to the sling; the swords shine, the spears glitter, and the arrows are sent forth. But the weapons of the Lord were not wanting: for as the stones were shot from the slings and engines, and reached the temple of Holy Mary, ever a virgin, they were miraculously driven back on those who sent them, and killed a multitude of the Chaldeans. And as the Lord doth not number the spears, but giveth the victory to whom he pleaseth, so when the faithful left the cave to join in the battle, the Chaldeans forthwith fled, being divided into two bodies. And bishop Oppas was soon taken, and Alkaman slain; in the same place were also slain 124,000 of the Chaldeans. Sixty-three thousand who remained alive ascended the top of mount Anseva, and hastily descended by a precipice, which is usually called Amosa, to the territory of the Liebanians. But neither did these escape the Lord's vengeance; for when they reached the banks of the Deva, near a heritage called Casegadia, that part of the hill which overhung the river suddenly gave way,—manifestly through God's judgment,—forced the 63,000 Chaldeans into the river, and covered them all. So that, even at this day, when the channel is swollen by the winter torrents, and the banks are overflown, vestiges of arms and human bones are clearly to be seen. Do not esteem this a vain or false miracle, but remember that He who thus covered the Arabs, the persecutors of God's church, with such a vast mountain heap, is the same who plunged the Egyptians into the Red Sea while pursuing Israel."—*España Sagrada*, tom. xiii. p. 479.

The adjuration of the good bishop, who seemed to have a foreboding that his miracle might possibly be disputed, has had its due effect on his orthodox countrymen; very few of them are so daring as to call it in question. The relation in the text is natural and doubtless true.

——— "In the fated straits
Of Deva had the King disposed the rest:
Amid the hanging woods, and on the cliffs,
A long mile's length, on either side its bed,
They lay. The lever and the axe and saw
Had skilfully been plied; and trees and stones,
A dread artillery, ranged on crag and shelf
And steep descent, were ready at the word
Precipitate to roll resistless down.

The faithful maiden not more wistfully
Looks for the day that brings her lover home;
Scarce more impatiently the horse endures
The rein, when loud and shrill the hunter's horn
Rings in his joyous ears, than at their post
The mountaineers await their certain prey.
Yet mindful of their Prince's order, oft
And solemnly enforced, with eagerness
Subdued by minds well master'd, they expect
The appointed signal."

* * * *

Nor did the Moors perceive in what a strait
They enter'd; for the morn had risen o'ercast,
And when the Sun had reach'd the height of heaven,
Dimly his pale and beamless orb was seen
Moving through mist.

——— "Low on the mountain side
The fleecy vapour hung, and in its veil,
With all their dreadful preparations, wrapp'd
The Mountaineers.

——— "From below
Meantime distinct they heard the passing tramp
Of horse and foot, continuous as the sound
Of Deva's stream, and barbarous tongues, commix'd
With laughter and with frequent shouts, — for all
Exultant came, expecting sure success; —
Blind wretches, over whom the ruin hung!"

* * * *

"From voice to voice on either side it past
With rapid repetition. *In the name*
Of God! for Spain and vengeance! and forthwith
On either side along the whole defile
The Asturians, shouting in the name of God,
Set the whole ruin loose! huge trunks and stones,
And loosen'd crags, down, down they roll'd, with rush,
And bound, and thundering force. Such was the fall
As when some city, by the labouring earth,
Heaved from its strong foundations, is cast down,
And all its dwellings, towers, and palaces,
In one wide desolation prostrated.
From end to end of that long strait, the crash
Was heard continuous, and commix'd with sounds
More dreadful, — shrieks of horror and despair
And death; the wild and agonising cry
Of that whole host in one destruction whelm'd!
Vain was all valour there, all martial skill;
The valiant arm is helpless now; the feet
Swift in the race avail not now to save.
They perish; all their thousands perish there;
Horsemen and infantry they perish all!
The outward armour and the bones within

Broken, and bruised, and crush'd. Echo prolong'd
The long uproar: a silence then ensued,
Through which the sound of Deva's stream was heard;
A lonely voice of waters, wild and sweet,
The lingering groan, the faintly utter'd prayer,
The louder curses of despairing death,
Ascended not so high."

Southey's Roderic, xxiii. 125.

APPENDIX D. Page 131.

BERNARDO DEL CARPIO.

Alfonso el Casto, say the romances and one or two chronicles*, had a sister, the infanta Ximena, who listened to the passion of the count de Saldaña; and who, as her brother was hostile to the match, even ventured to marry him privately. If the interviews of the lovers were secret, the consequences could not remain so; ere long the waist of the princess betrayed her situation to the incensed king, who consigned her to a nunnery and the count to a prison. The issue of this connection, a male child, was conveyed to the Asturias, and there reared as a favourite, — most people supposing him the bastard son of king Alfonso. As he grew up, the young Bernardo excelled in every knightly exercise, and was present at many a glorious field: in time he became the most renowned hero of his age, — the terror alike of Franks and Moors.

In the mean time the unfortunate count Sancho Diaz groaned over the miseries of his close confinement, and naturally, but uselessly, indulged in apostrophes against his son (whose wonderful exploits fame bore even to his ears), against the infanta for not having procured his enlargement, and against the king for punishing his offence with such vindictive severity. But that son knew not the relation in which he stood to the recluse: like all the world besides, he regarded himself as the illegitimate issue of don Alfonso, until his nurse — another account says some courtiers — acquainted him with the fact. From that moment he resolved to labour without intermission for his father's release; but, knowing the vindictive character of Alfonso, he forbore to request it, until he should have reaped new laurels on the field; until his services should be splendid enough to wring the concession from that monarch. He had soon an opportunity of displaying his prowess with the formidable Charlemagne, whose declared intention of subjugating the whole Peninsula raised a determined spirit of resistance in every Castilian breast, save in that of Alfonso, who was willing enough to reign as the vassal of the emperor. At the famous battle of Roncesvalles, he made havoc among "the knights of the Table Round;" mortally wounding, among others, the far-famed Orlando. On his return to the court of Leon, he refused to be present at the usual rejoicings consequent on a victory, until the queen promised to solicit his father's en-

* The most copious of these is Rodrigo Sanchez, bishop of Palencia, in part iii. of his Historia Hispanica (apud Schottum, Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.).

largement. Her request, though zealously and affectionately made, was sternly denied by Alfonso, who declared that, in conformity with an oath, he would never set the count at liberty. This repulse, however, did not prevent Bernardo from renewing the solicitation at a subsequent period; and it is impossible not to give him credit both for proper feeling and spirit. "Sir king and uncle," said he, "is it fitting that while I am fighting thy battles, my father should remain in fetters? Release him, and I shall think my services well repaid!" Wearied with his importunities, Alfonso promised that the count should be released; — and released he was, but blinded by order of the cruel tyrant.* The indignation of the son may be conceived; having bitterly upbraided the king, he left the court; and, like Coriolanus of old, passed over to the Moors, to employ his arm against the country which he had saved. Here history, or rather romance, leaves him.† — *Depping's Sammlung*, Nos. 9—22.

It is almost needless to say, that though this personage is admitted as historical by several writers, he is as much a creature of the imagination as Orlando or sir Tristram. No mention is made of him until full 500 years after the time he is said to have existed. Besides, Alfonso had no sister; his historical character is opposite to that which he holds in romance; and the relation in other respects is at variance with both facts and dates.

APPENDIX E. Page 139.

VICTORY OF CLAVIJO.

"THEN the Saracens advanced in an exceeding great multitude: seeing that multitude, the army of king Ramiro betook itself to the place which is called Clavijo. And that same night the king (Ramiro) being doubtful whether he should fight, the blessed Santiago appeared to him, and comforted him, by assuring him of a certain victory over the Arabs the following day And he arose with break of day, and revealed what he had seen to his bishops and nobles, all whom, thanking God for the vision, and being fortified by the apostle's promise, prepared for the combat. On the other hand the Saracens, confiding in their numbers, did the same. So battle commencing on both sides, the Saracens soon were thrown into confusion, and fled from the blows of the Christians, yet near 70,000 of their number fell on that day. And in this battle, it is said, that Santiago appeared on a white horse, with a banner or ensign in his hand. Then king Ramiro took Albelda, Clavijo, Calahorra, and many other places, which he added to his kingdom. From that time this invocation is said to have been used, '*Help us, God and Santiago!*' Then also vows were made and gifts offered to Santiago; and to this day, in some places, those gifts are offered not grudgingly, or through necessity, but with a cheerful devotion."— *Rodericus Toletanus, De Rebus Hispanicis*, lib. iv. cap. 13.

The archbishop is the first historian who acquaints us with the battle of Clavijo, and consequently the first who says any thing of the miracle. The credulity with which he collected every idle legend, and received every

* The bishop of Palencia makes the *corpse* of Sancho Diaz to be delivered to the son.

† The bishop of Palencia sends him to the court of Charlemagne.

popular ballad, is every where apparent. His contemporary, Lucas Tudensis, has not a word of the fable. But he is surely less censurable than Mariana, who not only receives the legend, but improves upon it. He makes the battle last two days, the first being disastrous to the Christians.

"Night arrived, and brought safety to ours; since there is nothing, however small, in war, which may not be turned to good account. Ramiro drew his troops, alike diminished in number and weakened by fear, to a neighbouring hill: he then confessed himself vanquished. The place was fortified, and the wounded attended; yet such were the despair and lamentation, that all were engaged in prayer or drowned in tears. As the king was thus oppressed by grief, and anxious for the result, sleep fell upon him. As he slept, the apparition of Santiago, more majestic than any human figure, bade him be of good courage, since, with the aid of Heaven, he might indulge assured hope of victory on the following day. Cheered by these words of the apostle, and delighted by the tidings, he arose from his couch, commanding his prelates and chiefs to be summoned before him, and thus addressed them." (Here follows a long oration — more Livii — hoc est, more mendaci — in which Remiro is made to dwell on their reverses, the hopefulness of another combat, the impossibility either of escape, or of long continuing in that place through want of provisions, and in which, after thus exposing their forlorn situation, he recalls them to joy by acquainting them with the celestial vision and promise of victory.) "Having thus spoken, he commanded the lines to be drawn out, and the trumpets to sound. With great eagerness ours rushed on the enemy, calling loudly on the name of Santiago, which, from this time forward, became the common invocation of the Spanish soldiers. The barbarians, astonished at the boldness of ours, whom they considered vanquished beyond redemption, and overcome with fear from Heaven, could not bear the onset. Santiago, as he had promised the king, was seen on a white horse, bearing aloft a white standard, on which were inscribed in red the form of a cross. The courage of ours was increased, that of the barbarians vanished, at the sight. The flight was dishonourable; not less the destruction: 60,000 Moors were slain. At this day, the bones and arms which are dug up sufficiently show us Clavijo, where the battle was fought. Albelda and Calahorra were recovered from the Moors. This battle was fought in the year 846, being the second of king Ramiro. The victorious army, in gratitude to God for the divine aid, vowed to Santiago, under whose guidance the victory had been obtained, that all Spain should thenceforth be tributary to the church of Compostella; — that though the greater part of the country was subject to the Moors, every acre of ploughed and vine land should pay every year a bushel of corn or wine to that church."— *De Rebus Hispaniæ*, lib. vii. cap. 13.

What are we to think of a writer who thus converts the modest *fertur* of his guide Rodrigo — and he had no other — into a positive fact; who adds fable to fable, and from his own imagination alone embellishes the addition; who, in innumerable places, thus substitutes his own invention for facts?

The famous instrument recording and sanctioning this vow, called the Privilege of Santiago, bears the date of Calahorra, May 5th, era 372, or A. D. 834. This date alone would ruin its fabrication; since Ramiro did not ascend the throne before 842. But, as Ferreras well observes, its signa-

tures and contents no less expose the imposture. There can be no doubt that the actions of the two first Ramiros have been confounded by the fabricators of the diploma. In 938, the second of that name is said — though on somewhat apocryphal authority — to have vowed, that if he should return victorious over Abderahman, each of his subjects should annually present to the church of Compostella a certain quantity of corn. That the claim was long admitted, and that the annual offering was at least partially made, is undoubted.

"That Santiago actually did expect Ramiro, is proved by a perpetual miracle. In all the vicinity of Clavijo, where the battle was fought, particularly about the town of Jubera, scallop shells are found in the stones, so exact and perfect, that art could not form a more accurate resemblance. Some say they have been there," says Brito, "since the apostle preached there in his lifetime; others refer them to the age of this battle; in either case, it is a notable testimony, and worthy of pious consideration!" — *Monarquia Lusitana*, ii. 7—20.

"The scallop was the mark of a pilgrim, who had been to Compostella, as the palm was of those who had visited the Holy Land. Palmer and pilgrim, therefore, are not precisely synonymous, all pilgrims not being palmers. Our old poetry, when a pilgrim is introduced, shows by its costume that this was the fashionable pilgrimage." — *Southey's Notes to the Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 378.

APPENDIX F. Page 144.

COUNT FERNAN GONSALEZ.

On the eve of a great battle, the count, who was fond of hunting, followed a wild boar into the mountains. In one of these mountains was a cave, inhabited by a holy hermit, Pelayo by name, and by two other men, who, desirous of profiting by his instruction and example, abode with him. Adjoining their habitation was a humble oratory, containing an altar dedicated to St. Peter. While eagerly pursuing the animal, which seems to have disappeared miraculously in the grotto, the count unexpectedly entered. Seeing the altar, and moved with reverence to the place, he fell on his knees, and commenced his devotion. While thus occupied, the hermit appeared, courteously retained him as a guest during the night, and the following morning dismissed him, with an assurance that he would triumph over the misbelievers. The prediction was immediately verified by the event.

During a subsequent irruption of the fierce Almansor into Castile, the count, no less solicitous about the fate of the approaching contest, hastened to the cell of his friend the hermit; but the holy man was no more. In his anxious dreams, however, he was comforted by the appearance of Pelayo, who was again the herald of victory. In the battle which followed, the martial patron of Spain was again seen on the white horse, with the banner and cross unfurled. On the site of the cell the grateful victor founded the celebrated monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza. — *Mariana*, lib. viii. cap. 6. et 7.

The defeat and imprisonment of the count by the king of Navarre have

been related in the text. Romance informs us, that while he was in prison, a Norman pilgrim, arriving in Spain, heard of his situation, bribed the alcalde to admit him, and had a long conversation with the illustrious captive. On leaving the place, he proceeded to the residence of the infanta of Navarre, to acquaint her with the love which the count bore her. "May God and St. Mary forgive you, infanta!" said the messenger: "you cause the death of the best man alive! The count is dying for love of you, and unless you help him, you will be the scorn of the world; but if through you he escape, you will be queen of Castile!" The lady was surprised; but as she wanted a lover, she was no less delighted: she vowed to relieve the count, on condition he would marry her. She went to the prince, and, on receiving the pledge from his own lips, she contrived to deceive the keeper, and to effect his deliverance. Both wandered all night through an extensive forest, and at daybreak they fell in with a reverend hunter, who seeing the count pinioned, suspected the truth, and threatened to take them both before the king, unless the lady would allow him to have his will of her. The rage of the fettered lover knew no bounds at this base proposal; but it was no less impotent; and though hers was only equalled by her griet, the arch-priest dragged her forcibly by the arm towards another part of the forest, and laid rude hands on her. Her cries brought the count, who, though fettered, contrived to grasp a knife belonging to the hunting parson, and to plunge it into him. They now quickened their steps, and towards evening were alarmed by the appearance of many horsemen. The infanta ran to hide herself, but was soon recalled by the voice of Fernan Gonsalez, who recognised the pennon of Castile. They were his own vassals, who had left Burgos in a body, and sworn never to return without their beloved chief. Of course there were great rejoicings on both sides; and doña Sancho was rewarded for her love and service in the way she most wished to be rewarded. — *Depping, Sammlung*, &c. Nos. 24. and 25.

Some of the ballads in Depping's Collection have been translated by Mr. Lockhart, by Mr. Rodd, and by Dr. Bowring.

APPENDIX G. Page 147.

TWO NOTABLE MIRACLES.

One of the instances which bishop Pelayo adduces to the discredit of king Bernardo II., is too characteristic of the Castilian chroniclers to be overlooked.

Ataulfus and the Bull.

"Three servants of the church of Santiago, whose names were Jado, Cado, and Ensio, accused their lord, the bishop Ataulfus, of a serious crime. And the king, like a foolish man as he was, readily gave ear to the foul falsehood, and believed it. And he sent messengers to tell the bishop of Santiago, that after consecrating the chrism on Palm Sunday, he (the bishop) must leave Compostella, and come to Oviedo, where the court was. In the mean time the king commanded as many fierce bulls as possible to be gathered together; and out of these he chose the fiercest, which he caused to be detained until the bishop should arrive. So the prelate, on the

day appointed, came to Oviedo; and when the soldiers bid him to wait on the king before entering the church, he, trusting in the Lord, replied, 'I shall first wait on our Saviour, the King of kings, and afterwards visit your tyrant king.' Then he entered the church of our Saviour, put on his pontifical vestments, celebrated the divine mystery, and in the same vestments went to the place before the king's palace where the bull was, and where most of the Asturians were collected to see the spectacle. Then the king commanded the bull to be let loose: immediately the animal made at the holy man; but instead of hurting him, it left its horns in his hands; and, turning round, trampled on and slew many of the scoffers: afterwards it sought the woods whence it had been brought. So the bishop returning to the church, laid the horns, which he held in his hands, on the altar of our Saviour, and excommunicated Jado, Ensio, and Cado: he prayed and said that unto the world's end some of their seed should be leprous, some blind, others lame, by reason of this false crime which they had charged to him. And he cursed the king, and said, that in his seed should the curse be made manifest to all beholders.* Then the bishop putting off his sacred robes, would not see the tyrant, though he remained there four days; and at last he left Oviedo with his servants, and went to the church of Santa Eulalia, in the vale of Pyania, where he abode. There, being struck with sickness, he took the body and blood of our Lord, and, at dawn of the fourth feria, yielded up his soul to God. Then they who were with him made a bier, on which they intended to carry him to the church where the bishop was. But our heavenly king made it so immovable, that the hands of a thousand men could not have stirred it the breadth of a hair; wherefore, after holding council, they buried him in the excellent stone sepulchre, in the sacristy of the said church of St. Eulia, towards the north."—*España Sagrada*, tom. xiv. p. 466.

The following may also amuse:—

Mohammed and his Christian Bride.

"The said king had two lawful wives, one called Velasquita, whom he repudiated; another he married, named Gelvira, by whom he had two children, Alfonso and Theresa. This Theresa, after her father's death, her brother Alfonso gave in marriage, contrary to her will, and for the sake of peace, to a certain pagan king of Toledo. But she, being a Christian, said to the pagan king, 'Don't come near me, thou pagan king! if thou touch me, the angel of the Lord will kill thee!' But the king laughed, and had his will with her, and immediately, as she had said, he was struck by the angel of the Lord. Perceiving his death approach, he called his chamberlains and counsellors, and ordered them to load his camels with gold and silver, and precious stones and costly raiment, and take her back to Leon with all these gifts. In which city she put on the monastic habit, and afterwards died at Oviedo, and was buried in the monastery of San Pelayo."—*Ibid.* p. 468.

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* "Our armies swore terribly in Flanders!" Ernulphus and Ataulphus might have made their noviciate in an English camp.

The ballad on this subject in Depping (*Sammlung der besten Spanischen Romanzen*, p. 57.) is more minute; but as the substance has already been given, we need not translate it: —

En los Reynos de Leon,
El quinto Alfonso reynaba
Una hermana tiene el rey,
Doña Teresa se llama.

Andalla rey de Toledo,
Por muger se la demanda;
El rey con muy mal consejo,
Lo que le pide atorgaba.

Moviose el rey á hacerlo,
Porque el Moro le ayudaba
Contra otros reyes Moros
De quien el se recelaba.

Mucho á la infanta le pesó
En se ver tan denostada
En la casar con un Moro,
Sienda ella infanta Cristiana.

No aprovechan con el rey
Las lagrimas que lloraba,
Ni los ruegos que le ruegan
Para revocar la manda.

El rey la envió á Toledo,
Adonde Andalla estaba:
Recibióla bien el Moro,
En la ver mucho holgaba.

Procuró de aver su amor,
Quiere gozar de la infanta;
Ella con crecido enojo
Aquesta razon hablaba.

" Yo te digo que ne llegues
A mi, porque soy Cristiana,
Y tu Moro, de otra ley,
De la mia muy lejana.

No quiero tu compañia,
Tu vista á mi no agradaba;
Si pones manos en mi,
Y de ti soy deshonrada:

El Angel de Jesu Christo,
A quien el me ha dada en guarda,
Herira ese tu cuerpo
Con su muy tajante espada.

No se le dió nada al Moro,
De lo que la infanta hablaba;
Cumplió en ella su querer,
Dueña el Moro la tornaba.

Dende alli á muy poco rato
El angel de Dios lo llaga;
Dióle gran enfermedad,
Sobre el Moro tal gran plaga.

Cuydó el Rey ser della muerto,
Y desque tal mal escapa,
Llamó á sus ricos hombres,
Con la infanta los enviaba

A Leon, dó estaba Alfonso,
Gran presente le llevaban
De oro y piedras preciosas,
Que en gran valor estimaban.

Llegados son á Leon
La infanta monja se entraba,
Dó vivió sirviendo á Dios
Honesta vida muy santa,
En aqueso monasterio,
El que las Huelgas llaman.

It is somewhat strange that Depping, who has applied himself so much to Spanish history, should make Theresa daughter, instead of sister, of Alfonso V., should marry her to Abdalla, instead of Mohammed of Toledo, and blunder the date: "Diese infantin war doña Theresa, tochter Alphonso's V. oder des Edeln, königs von Leon. Sie heurathete den könig von Toledo Abdalla, im anfange des 11ten jahrhunderts, wollte ihn aber nie für ihren mann anerkennen, weil er ein Mohammedaner war, und kehrte zuletzt wieder nach Leon zuruck." p. 58. This writer blunders every where: his text is full of errors of the grossest description.

APPENDIX H. Page 161.

THE CID RODRIGO DIAZ DE BIVAR, SURNAMED EL CAMPEADOR.

As not merely the existence, but the chief actions, of this personage are admitted as genuine by most Spanish historians, and as, though we have excluded those actions from the text, we yet think that the reader should be acquainted with those which relate to the kings of Castile and Leon, the present note must be extended to some length. Though we believe even the historic portion of the following condensed extracts — condensed chiefly from Dr. Southey's admirable Chronicle of the Cid — to be wholly apocryphal, yet as it is admitted into the text of other histories, it shall be admitted into the appendix of this. We will endeavour to be as brief as clearness will allow.

When Ordoño II. put to death the counts of Castile *, the country re-

* See section ii. chapter i. page 137. of the present volume.

mained without a governor until the people chose two judges, Nuño Rasura and Layn Calvo, the latter son-in-law to the former. From Nuño descended don Fernando, second king of Castile, son of don Sancho el Mayor; from Layn, Diego Laynez, father of our hero, who was born at Burgos, in the year 1026.

While Rodrigo was but a stripling, there was strife between his father and count don Gormaz, who on one occasion both insulted and struck Diego. The old man took the blow so much to heart, that he could not eat, or drink, or sleep. Seeing the grief he was in, young Rodrigo went out, challenged the count, who was a man of strength and valour, slew him, cut off his head, and brought it at his saddle-bow to rejoin his father. The old man was sitting at table, the food lying before him untasted, when Rodrigo returned, and pointing to the head which hung from the horse's collar, dropping blood, he bade him look up, for there was the herb which should restore to him his appetite. "The tongue," quoth he, "which insulted you is no longer a tongue, and the hand which wronged you is no longer a hand." And the old man arose, and embraced his son, and placed him above him at the table, saying that he who had brought home that head should be head of the house of Layn Calvo. Soon afterwards, as king don Fernando was at Leon, there appeared before him Ximena Gomez, daughter of the deceased count. Falling down on her knees, she craved a boon from him,—not the death but the hand of Rodrigo. The extraordinary request was granted, and Rodrigo, at the monarch's command, readily hastened to the court, and made her his bride. But on returning with her to his mother's house (Layn Calvo was no more), he made a vow in her hands that he would know her not until he had won five battles in the field.

Just before this marriage, Rodrigo had repulsed a strong predatory irruption of the Moors, and taken the five kings who headed it prisoners! His next feat was to fight the champion of don Ramiro, king of Aragon, in right of his own lord, king don Fernando, for the city of Calahorra, a great subject of dispute between the two crowns, but one which both agreed to settle by their champions. Having paid a visit to the shrine at Compostella, and on the way shown great kindness to a poor loathsome leper, who proved to be no other than St. Lazarus, and who, in recompence, assured him of celestial favour in all his undertakings, he returned, and did battle with the Aragonese, whom he slew, and thereby gained Calahorra for Fernando. This exploit was followed by many successive triumphs over the Moors, both in Castile and Portugal, helping his master to win Viseu, Lamego, and Coimbra. On the taking of the last place, he was knighted by the king, and thenceforth called Ruy Diaz (*Ruy* is an abbreviation of Rodrigo); but a more honourable appellation was also his, that of *Cid* or lord, which was bestowed on him by the five Moorish kings, his vassals, and which king Fernando confirmed.

But it was not in the field only that the Cid—for such he must henceforth be called—was of use to his sovereign. When Henry, emperor of Germany, and pope Victor II. called on Fernando to do homage for Leon and Castile to that emperor, in fear of the claimant's power, the counsellors of Fernando advised him to submit: not so the Cid, who indignantly denounced the arrogance of Henry, and persuaded his master to send a defiance to both pope and emperor, and even to carry the war into their

dominions. Accordingly, at the head of 8900 knights, the king and Cid set out for Germany. Near Toulouse, the Cid, who had the advanced guard discomfited count Raymond, lord of Savoy, who at the head of the power of France, comprising no fewer than 20,000 knights, endeavoured to obstruct the march of the Castilians. In a second conflict he was no less successful; so that the fame of his exploits terrified both pope and emperor, and induced both to withdraw their arrogant pretensions over the country.

On the death of Fernando, his dominions were divided among his children. Sancho, the eldest, had Castile; Alfonso had Leon and the Asturias; and Garcia had Galicia with northern Portugal; Urraca had Zamora, with half the Infantazgo; Elvira the other half, with Toro. Such a division could not fail to cause misfortunes and troubles. First, Sancho of Navarre, aided by his uncle Ramiro of Aragon, invaded Castile, expecting that, in the weakness consequent on such a division, he should recover what his father had lost; but he was so roughly handled by the Cid, that he was glad to retreat into his own kingdom. To punish the king of Aragon for the aid thus lent to the Navarrese, Sancho laid siege to Saragossa, then held by a Moorish king, vassal of Ramiro, and forced both the Mussulman and city to transfer their homage and tribute to himself as their liege lord. In great wrath Ramiro with his army waited the return of the Castilians to give them battle: the Aragonese were defeated, and forced to agree that Saragossa should remain tributary to Sancho.

But the worst effects of the division of Fernando's dominions were to be feared in the quarrels of his children. While Sancho was absent from Castile, Garcia seized by force on most of the lands held by Urraca. Sancho, as the eldest, had naturally been most opposed to the division; and when he heard of the usurpation of Garcia he rejoiced, for it afforded him, what he had long wanted, a pretext for interfering, and for dispossessing the co-heirs. In vain did the Cid, who was loyalty itself, dissuade him against the undertaking. Having obtained permission from his brother Alfonso to march his troops through Leon, he invaded Galicia and Portugal; but though he met at first with little opposition, he was at length defeated in the vicinity of Coimbra. But, his troops being still superior in number, he persevered, and won much of the country, and marched on Santaren to besiege his brother. But Garcia, seeing that he must make another effort to preserve what he had left, did not wait to be besieged, but ventured out, and accepted battle. After a sharp conflict the Castilians were routed — doubtless because the Cid had not come up — and Sancho taken prisoner. Seeing his brother in the charge of six knights, Garcia pursued the fugitives; but in his absence Sancho was rescued, and by the arrival of the Cid with 300 knights enabled again to contest the battle. "In happy time are you come, my fortunate Cid," said the rescued king, "never vassal succoured his lord in such season as you now succour me, for the king my brother had overcome me." To which the Cid answered, "Sir, be sure that you shall recover the day, or I will die!" And well did he redeem his pledge; for in the battle which ensued, victory declared for the Castilians: Garcia was taken prisoner in his turn, and consigned to the strong castle of Luna, where he was kept till the day of his death, — a period of seventeen years. *

* He lived, and insisted on dying, in his fetters. His request of being buried in them was also granted. *Alonso el Sabio. Sandoval. Rodrigo of Toledo.*

No sooner had Sancho thus obtained possession of his brother, than that of the kingdom followed. Strengthened by the accession of Galicia and Portugal, he imperiously ordered Alfonso to resign Leon to him: Alfonso naturally resisted, Leon was invaded, Alfonso defeated — chiefly through the prowess of my Cid —and forced to flee. In a second battle, however, my Cid not being on the field, the Leonese were victorious, and Sancho fled. At this critical moment Ruy Diaz came up with his green pennon prevailed on his king to turn back and rally the scattered Castilians, and try the event of a second battle. It was not tried, however, until the following day, when of course the Castilians were victorious. Alfonso fled, but yet a party of thirteen Leonese knights made Sancho prisoner, and led him away. My Cid pursued them alone, and without lance; and when he overtook them he said — "Knights, give me my lord, and I will give unto you your's." They knew him by his arms, and they made him answer, — "Ruy Diaz, return in peace, and seek not to contend with us, otherwise we will carry you away prisoner with him!" And he waxed wroth, and said, "Give me but a lance, and I will, single as I am, rescue my lord from all of ye; by God's help I will do it!" And they held him as nothing, because he was but one, and gave him a lance. But he attacked them therewith so bravely, that he slew eleven of the thirteen *, leaving only two alive, on whom he had mercy, and thus did he rescue the king. The prisoner Alfonso was made a monk, "more by force than good will," for he soon fled from the monastery to the court of Alimamon, king of Toledo, by whom he was generously entertained.

Sancho was now acknowledged king of Leon, as well as of Castile and Galicia. Urraca began to fear, and not without reason, that her city of Zamora would next be assailed; for the king, after taking Toro, and all the possessions of Elvira, her sister, advanced against that city. As it was strongly fortified, and likely to stand out a long time, the Cid was with difficulty induced to wait on the infanta, and propose that if she would surrender Zamora, she should receive other possessions in exchange; he loved Urraca, with whom he had passed many years of his youth in that very city, and he did not wish to see her despoiled of her inheritance. Both the princess and the inhabitants refused to surrender the place. For his ill success in this message, or because he refused, perhaps, to bear arms against the infanta, he fell into disgrace with Sancho, who ordered him to leave Castile. So he left the camp of his lord, accompanied by his knights and esquires, his kinsmen and friends, amounting to 1200 in number, "all men of approved worth, a goodly company," with the intention of joining Alfonso among the Moors; but the repentance and submission of the king, who despatched messengers after him, desiring him to return, disarmed his anger, and he did return. Still he refused to bear arms in person against doña Urraca, "because of the days which were past." The siege, however, was prosecuted with such vigour, and famine so well aided the assailants, that the princess and inhabitants resolved to surrender the city, to leave it, and join Alfonso. Just as this resolution was made, one Vellido Dolfos, a knight of her party, proposed, if well rewarded, to make king don Sancho raise the siege. On being assured that if he succeeded whatever

* See Falstaff.

demand he made should be granted, he fled from the city, accompanied by his thirty knights, as if in a great panic, and persuaded Sancho that his life was in danger merely because he had exhorted the inhabitants to submit. The king believed him, especially when assured that the besiegers should be put in possession of a secret postern leading into the place. Not even the honest warning of the citizens, who knew the traitor's purpose, could shake Sancho's confidence in his new vassal. The result was as they had foreseen; Vellido Dolfos had soon an opportunity of assassinating him, by thrusting a hunting spear through his back. The murderer fled into the city, and sought the protection of Urraca. He was openly ironed and imprisoned, but secretly suffered to escape. *

By the death of Sancho without issue, Alfonso was rightful king of Leon and Castile. With some difficulty he obtained permission to leave Toledo, and hastened to Zamora, where all the barons offered to do him homage on condition of his swearing that he had no hand in the death of his brother; for suspicion naturally fell on Urraca, and the zeal she showed in his restoration as naturally implicated him. Agreeably to the custom of the times, not only he but twelve others (knights) had to swear with himself he was free of his brother's blood. The Cid administered the oath, and in so earnest and particular a manner, that the king, whose countenance changed more than once, was incensed with him, so that "from that day forward there was no love towards my Cid in the heart of the king." But some time elapsed before the latter exhibited any outward signs of displeasure. In the expedition to aid the king of Toledo, who was besieged by the king of Cordova, the Cid accompanied his master, and on a following occasion he was despatched for the tribute due from the Moorish kings of Seville and Cordova, when in a pitched battle he defeated the king of Granada, Almudafar, who had invaded the dominions of Almuctamir king of Seville. For his splendid services he received the thanks, but could never obtain the favour of Alfonso: many of the courtiers too were jealous of his fame, and still more of the riches he daily acquired, and they sought an opportunity of injuring him in the mind of the king. It soon arrived: he having made a predatory inroad into the king of Toledo's dominions, the Moor complained, and Rodrigo was banished. His faithful followers, however, agreed to accompany him wherever he should bend his steps.

There is great beauty in that passage of the Chronicle of the Cid, where he prepares to leave his ancient habitation. "And as he was about to depart, he looked back upon his own home, and when he saw his hall deserted, the household chests unfastened, the doors open, no cloaks hanging up, no seats in the porch, no hawks upon the perches, the tears came into his eyes, and he said, 'My enemies have done this — God be praised for all things!'" So he and his cavalcade left Bivar, and proceeded to Burgos, the men and women of which were at the windows weeping to see him pass; but none in Burgos durst receive him into their houses from fear of king Al-

* His fate is unknown. One account, evidently fabulous, intimates that the demand he had made the princess was to lie with her one night, and that she kept her promise by tying him hands and feet in a sack, and thus passing the night with him. But whatever was his fate here, says the Chronicle of the Cid, there can be no doubt he is in hell, tormented with Dathan and Abiram, and Judas the traitor, for ever and ever.

fonso, so he took up his lodgings on the sands near the city.* To raise money, he had recourse to an expedient which would have done honour to a modern sharper: he caused two chests to be filled with sand, and to be pledged, as real gold, with two Jews, for 600 marks. The Jews were not to open the chests until a certain period expired. The Cid now pursued his journey, chuckling over his good fortune in cheating them. Having seen his wife and daughters safely consigned to the care of the abbot of San Pedro de Cardeña, and asked our Lady's blessing on all his measures, he "loosed the reins, and pushed forward," until he arrived in the country of the Moors.

The life of the Cid was now one of continued warfare, which he made on his own account with as much impunity as a sovereign prince, "like men who lived by it, and helped themselves with their arms." Castrejon and Alcocer were the first places which he won. In the latter he was soon besieged by the troops of the king of Valencia, who cut off his water and provisions. Safety lay only in the sword; so that, notwithstanding the disproportion of number, he and his followers issued from the gates, and the affray began. Thus 300 assailed 3000, their leader crying out, "Smite them, knights, for the love of charity!" And smite them the Christians did, until 1300 of the misbelievers were extended on the plain; and the rest, except the prisoners, fled in terror. Of the spoil, which was immense, he sent a portion to king Alfonso, in token alike of love and vassalage; for, in all circumstances, he was the most loyal of men. Having exacted redemption money from the neighbouring towns, he proceeded onwards, reducing several others, such as Medina and Daroca, and Teruel, to the condition of tributaries; and at last forcing even the Moors of Saragossa to pay tribute also. All this, with only 300 followers, did "my Cid with the fleecy beard," and when reinforced, as he soon was, with 200 horse, and a good body of infantry, he thought himself a match for any one. His freebooting inroads into the neighbouring provinces offended both Christian and Moor; both don Pedro king of Aragon, and Raymond count of Barcelona, were wroth with him — and not without reason, for he sometimes showed no more respect to their territories than to those of the Moors. The latter, with a Moorish ally, the king of Denia, took the field against him, but lost the battle and liberty. The count, however, was honourably dismissed, without ransom; a behaviour which surprised him much. "As he pricked on, he many times looked behind him, fearing that My Cid would repent what he had done, and take him back to prison, which the perfect one would not have done for the whole world, for never did he do disloyal thing. This count Raymond, and many other Christian lords, with their allies, the Moors, were soon afterwards defeated a second time by the Cid. But what pleased the victor most, was the service which he did for his sovereign don Alfonso, on the Moorish garrison of Rueda, which had treacherously slain some noble Castilians, and even the infante Sancho, son of the king of Navarre. On this occasion, Alfonso thanked him in person, restored him to favour, and pressed him even to return to Castile; an invitation which he joyfully accepted.

* These, and many other particulars, are affectingly related in the oldest and best poem in the Spanish language — the Poema del Cid, published by Sanchez, in the Colleccion de Poesias Castellanos anteriores al Siglo xv. tom. i.

In the siege of Toledo, which king Alfonso at length took, the Cid had the chief command of the Christian troops: his was the first banner which entered, and he was the first Christian alcalde of the place. But he seems never to have been on cordial terms with his master, but to have shunned the court, and returned to his old habits of making war on any body or every body, on the frontiers of Aragon and Valencia. Yahia, king of the last-named city, he made tributary to him, like the Moorish king of Saragossa. When Raymond Berenguer, count of Barcelona, the Cid's old acquaintance, was placed over the Castilian troops, and lay before Valencia, the latter took so much umbrage at it, that he ordered him to leave the field, and return home. The count reluctantly obeyed, but in his mortified pride, he looked out for revenge; and, with an overwhelming force of French, Castilians, and Moors, fell on the hero in the mountains. "In the end, he who was never conquered won the day." This battle, however, is evidently but a second relation of the former one, and the result the same. The Cid waxed greater and greater; was obeyed by other Moorish chiefs, the governors, or rather kings, of Tortosa, Denia, and Xativa; and was, in fact, the protector of the whole country, from Tortosa to Orihuela. "And you are to know, that whatever my Cid commanded in Valencia, it was done; and whatever he forbad, was forbidden." But his happiness was alloyed by Alfonso, whom the courtiers generally contrived to indispose against him, by misrepresenting his most innocent actions. At one time, the king went so far as to order the Cid's vassals to pay him, for five years, the tribute due to "him of the fleecy beard." Flesh and blood could not stand to be thus dishonoured; so "fleecy beard" made a hostile irruption into Castile itself, took Logroño and Alfaro, plundering and destroying in every direction. "Now when king Alfonso knew what the Cid had done in his land, and that the Ricos-omes had not dared fight against him, he saw that he had taken an evil counsel when he had set his heart against him. And he sent his letters to the Cid, saying that he forgave him all that he had done, seeing that he himself had given the occasion; and he besought him to come to Castile, where he should find all things free which appertained unto him. Much was the Cid rejoiced at these tidings; and he wrote unto the king, thanking him for his grace, and beseeching him not to give ear to bad counsellors, for he would always be at his service."

While the Cid was at Saragossa, the inhabitants of Valencia, indignant at the tribute which they were obliged to pay him, and which appears to have been somewhat harshly exacted by his guazil or agent Abenalfarax, who constantly resided in the city, conspired with an alcalde called Abeniaf how they might get rid of it. The vicinity of the Almoravides, who were gradually subduing the petty kings of Andalusia, encouraged them to make the attempt: if they must pay tribute, they would rather pay it to one of their own law, than to a Christian. Having received promise of aid from the African general, they arose, deposed Yahia, the vassal of the Christians, and placed Abeniaf at their head. The new ruler put the dethroned king to death, and prepared to defend the city against all comers,—against the Africans as well as the Christians; for he knew that if the former gained it, his reign was over. In great wrath the Cid invested the city, destroyed the suburbs, except one quarter, in which he intrenched himself. The siege continued for months, even after provisions began to fail the besieged, and an ineffectual attempt of the Almoravides

succour their brethren. In the sorties made by the garrison, the Cid of course was victorious: but the women and children fought from the walls, by rolling stones on the heads of the assailants. At length, when the inhabitants, through fatigue and starvation, were more dead than alive, necessity made them capitulate, and the Cid's followers took triumphant possession of the city in June, 1093, after a siege of nine months. Thus he established himself in this new and most important of his conquests; uniting, in his own person the functions of governor and judge; but in both characters he exhibited sometimes rapacity, and frequently duplicity, always tyranny; so as now to terrify, now to exasperate, the Moors. His sway, indeed, seems to have been a rigorous one, notwithstanding the even-handed justice which he knew how to administer when his own interests were not concerned.

But the victor was not to remain unmolested in his post: the Almoravides, 30,000 in number, invested him there. Without counting the enemy, he issued from the gates, gave them battle, drove them from the field, pursued them as far as the Xucar, "smiting and slaying all the way." In attempting to escape him, 15,000 of the misbelievers were drowned in that river. "Be it known that this was a profitable day's work. Every foot soldier shared a hundred marks of silver that day; and the Cid returned full honourably to Valencia. Great was the joy of the Christians in the Cid Ruy Diaz, he who was born in a happy hour. His beard was grown and continued to grow a great length. My Cid said of his chin, "For the love of king don Alfonso, who hath banished me from his land, no scissors shall come upon it, nor shall a hair be cut away, and Moors and Christians shall talk of it." His followers were become so rich, that, in the well-founded fear of their returning to their homes, he made a law that whoever left without his permission, should lose both substance and life. To know how many he had, he caused an account to be made, "and there were found 1000 knights of lineage, and 550 other horsemen; and of foot soldiers 4000, besides boys and others. Thus many were the people of my Cid, he of Bivar. And his heart rejoiced, and he smiled, and said, 'Thanks be to God, and to Holy Mother Mary! We had a smaller company when we left the house of Bivar!'" He now appointed a bishop for Valencia, "one Hieronymo, a full learned man and a wise, and one who was mighty both on horseback and afoot," — the best qualification for my Cid's bishop. Nine parish churches were next founded. Lastly, he thought of his family and country: so he sent messengers to do homage to king don Alfonso for Valencia, and for doña Ximena and his two daughters, whom he settled in his household in great honour.

The following year the Cid was invested in Valencia by "king Yussef, son of the Miramamolin, who dwelt in Morocco," at the head of 50,000 Almoravides. The ladies lately arrived, were in great fear for the result, — "never had they been in such fear since the day they were born. Then the good Cid Campeador stroked his beard, and said, 'Fear not; all this is for your good.'" On the morning of the battle, all being "shriven and assoiled and houselled," prepared for the contest — of 4000 with 50,000. "Great was the absolution which the bishop gave them: 'He who shall die,' said he, 'fighting full forward, I will take his sins, and God shall have his soul?' Then said he, 'A boon, Cid don Rodrigo: I have sung mass

to you this morning; let me have the giving the first wounds in this battle!' and the Cid granted him his boon in the name of God." Of course, he who was never conquered, was victor here; so that only 15,000 of the misbelieving 50,000 escaped. "The bishop don Hieronymo, that perfect one with the shaven crown, he had his fill in that battle, fighting with both hands; no one could tell how many he slew." It was here that, besides immense spoil, the Cid acquired Yussef's sword, the famous Tizona, and the owner himself, sorely wounded, was glad to escape.

The marriage of the Cid's two daughters with the infantes of Carrion, the dishonour put on him and them by these sons-in-law, the dissolution of that marriage, and the contracting of a new one with the infantes of Aragon and Navarre, the revenge of the Cid for the dishonour put on him and his house by those of Carrion, being matters foreign to history, may be passed over in silence. He had soon other employment than giving marriage feasts: Bucar, brother of the defeated Yussef, to revenge that humiliating check, raised an army not to be computed for number, in which twenty-nine kings served as generals; and with this mighty host landed in Spain, and made direct for Valencia. But he of the fleecy beard was not dismayed: he wished that, instead of only twenty-nine kings, Bucar had brought all Pagandom; for he thought that, with the mercy of God, he could conquer them all. So "the Cid set his army in array. The van he gave to Avar Fañez Minaya, and to Pero Bermudez, who bore his banner; and he gave them 500 horsemen and 1500 men on foot. In the right wing, was that honourable one with the shaven crown, don Hieronymo the bishop, with the like number both of horse and foot; and in the left, Martin Antolinez of Burgos, and Alvar Salvadores, with as many more. The Cid came in the rear with 1000 horsemen, all in coats of mail, and 2500 men on foot." The bishop, who "had left his own country through the desire he had to kill some Moors and do honour to his order," insisted on being "the foremost in the business." So the affray commenced: "the bishop don Hieronymo, he pricked forward; two Moors he slew with the two first thrusts of his lance; the haft broke, and he laid on his sword. God! how well the bishop fought! two he slew with the lance, and five with the sword." This was only the beginning; for, throughout the contest, equal prodigies were constantly performed. At length the Moors fled, as usual; the Cid pursued king Bucar, "and made at him to strike him with his sword: and the Moorish king knew him when he saw him coming. 'Turn this way, Bucar,' cried the Campeador, 'you who come from behind sea to see the Cid with the long beard! We must greet each other, and cut out a friendship!' 'God confound such friendship!' cried king Bucar, and turned his bridle, and began to fly towards the sea, and the Cid after him, having great desire to reach him. But king Bucar had a good horse and a fresh, and the Cid went spurring Bavieca, who had had hard work that day, and he came near his back; and when they were nigh unto the ships, and the Cid saw he could not reach him, he darted his sword at him, and struck him between the shoulders: and king Bucar, being badly wounded, rode into the sea, and got to a boat, and the Cid alighted and picked up his sword. And his people came up, hewing down the Moors before them, and the Moors in their fear of death ran into the sea, so that twice as many died in the water as in the battle; nevertheless, so many were they that were slain in the battle, that they were thought to be 17,000 persons and upward. And so many were

they who were taken prisoners, that it was a wonder; and of the twenty and nine kings who came with Bucar, seventeen were slain."

This was the last battle which the Cid fought with his old enemies *during life:* but his corpse was present at one which exceeded all his former victories.* Hearing that king Bucar was coming with a new army too numerous to be counted, with thirty-six kings as generals, and being moreover informed in a vision by St. Peter that he should die before they arrived, he left his instructions with his confidential friends. He ordered them to scent and embalm his body after death, to carry him in complete armour with sword in hand, to fasten him on the back of his noble steed Bavieca, to open the gates of the city, and advance in battle array against the Moors, as in former times; and when the victory was theirs, as he assured them it would be, to convey him to the church of San Pedro de Cardeña, which he had chosen as for his place of sepulture. The following day, May 29. 1099, in the 73d year of his age, "this noble baron yielded up his soul, which was pure and without spot, to God." Three days after his death, the Moors came up to the city, while the inhabitants contented themselves with defending the place from the ramparts during twelve days. Before morning of the thirteenth, the Christian army issued from the gates, the Cid appearing armed and on horseback as if alive, and there was a terrible carnage among the Moors, who soon fled in every direction. The corpse, however, was not much present on this occasion: it was conveyed towards Castile while the destruction of the misbelievers was effected. Of that destruction, the chief instrument was believed to be that great apostle sir Santiago, whom the victims thought they perceived in the van of the faithful. After the battle, the deceased baron's followers returned not to the city, for they well knew that they should be unable to defend it, but to Castile, each to his own home. The Moors in the suburbs again took possession of Valencia, which continued theirs until it was won by king don Jayme of Aragon, surnamed El Conquistador.

How the corpse of the Cid was not buried, but clothed in noble apparel, and placed upright in an ivory chair by the side of the high altar of San Pedro de Cardeña; — how it remained in that position above ten years, the flesh continuing fair and sound all that time, when it was buried in a vault at the foot of the altar; — how, before it was thus interred, a graceless Jew, intending to pull the dead hero's beard, stretched out his hand for that purpose; and how the right hand of the corpse miraculously drew

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* He also fought after death. — "Moreover when the Miramamolin brought over from Africa against don Alfonso VIII., the mightiest power of the misbelievers that had ever been brought against Spain since the destruction of the kings of the Goths, the Cid Campeador remembered his country in that great danger. For the night before the battle was fought at the Navas de Tolosa, in the dead of the night, a mighty sound was heard in the whole city of Leon, as if it were the tramp of a great army passing through. And it passed on to the royal monastery of San Isidro, and there was a great smashing at the gate thereof, and they called to a priest who was keeping vigils in the church, and told him, that the captains of the army whom he heard were the Cid Ruy Diaz and count Fernan Gonsaiez, and that they came there to call up king don Fernando the Great, who lay buried in that church, that he might go with them to deliver Spain; and on the morrow that great battle of the Navas de Tolosa was fought, wherein 60,000 of the misbelievers were slain; which was one of the greatest and noblest battles ever won over the Moors."—*Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 352.

the sword Tizona half way from the scabbard, to the dread of the profane Israelite, who was thereby converted to the true faith; with many other wonderful things,— which, as they relate not to history, must not be noticed here; — may be found in the Chronicle of the Cid, and in the popular ballads concerning him.

Such are the chief events — usually received as historic, and, in fact, mostly incorporated in the modern histories of Spain — recorded of this famous personage. The degree of credit to which they are entitled might safely be left to the reader's judgment; the impossibility of some, the improbability of most, and the air of romance thrown over the rest, must be sufficient to ensure the rejection of all in a mind unbiassed by prepossessions. How such events should ever have been received otherwise than as creations of the prolific muse of chivalry and romance, is, to us at least, matter of the deepest astonishment: but we will not base their rejection merely on their general improbability; we will proceed to adduce other and no less reasonable grounds for the same purpose.

Even if the events recorded of the Cid were not any where — as they every where are — at variance with reason and probability, the historian would object to the *authority* on which they rest. We have —

1. The Cronica de Espafia, the greater part of which is supposed to have been written by Alonso el Sabio, but not the last part, in which the adventures of the Cid are contained. Valladolid, 1604.*

2. Chronica del Famoso Cavallero Cid Ruy Diaz el Campeador. Burgos, 593.

3. Poema del Cid (in Sanchez's collection).

4. Romances del Cid, by Escobar. Seville, 1632.

5. La Castilla y el mas Famoso Castellano; edited by Risco, Madrid, 1792. with some others, which, as they are confessedly apocryphal, need not be noticed.

"The first of these works," says Risco †, one of the stoutest defendants of the existence and actions of the Cid, "whoever was the author, is a prodigious collection of fabulous adventures, of popular songs and tales." Besides, its age — it is not older than the fourteenth century — must render it useless as authority for the actions of one reputed to have lived in the eleventh. The second, which was published by the abbot of San Pedro de Cardeña, don Juan de Velorado, is, doubtless, taken from the first, and therefore liable to the same objections: both, says Risco, "are justly held in no repute." ‡ The third, which is to be found in Sanchez (Colleccion de Poesias Castellanos anteriores al Siglo XV. tom. i.), is certainly not older than the thirteenth, though attempts have been made to prove it much older: the argument adduced by the supporters of this opinion, that the language of the poem proves it to be of more ancient date, can weigh nothing, when we find names, full as critical, denying the inference, and

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* There are other editions of these works, but we notice such only as we have consulted.

† "La primera, sea quien fuera su verdadero autor, ... es una prodigiosa coleccion de fabulosas aventuras, y de cantares y consejas populares." — *La Castilla, &c.* p. 60.

‡ "La segunda es posterior á la general, y de esta se sacaron los capitulos relativos al Cid."—"Una y otra justamente reprobadas."—*La Castilla, &c.* p. 64.

contending that, at the very earliest, it cannot be assigned to a period prior to the commencement of the thirteenth century. The *Romances del Cid*, in their present form, are acknowledged to be of the fifteenth century; nor do we know whether the language has been modernised. "Many of them," says an excellent judge*, "are evidently little older than the volumes in which they are contained; very few of them appear to me to bear any marks of antiquity, and the greater part are utterly worthless." The best of these works is that which is least known in this country, — which has escaped the diligence of Dr. Southey; and on which the advocates for the existence and actions of the Cid place the most reliance. The MS. which was found by Risco in the city of Leon, and published by him under the above quaint title, is said by the editor to be of great antiquity, — almost as old as the days of the Cid; — but as it is not to be found in any library in Spain †, we have only his judgment to guide us, — a guide which appears to be any thing but unerring. Until that MS. is produced, and submitted to the rigorous examination of literary antiquaries; if its date be no older than the thirteenth century — and we have no presumption that it is even so old; if it do not approach much nearer to the period of the Cid than either the poem or the chronicles, it cannot, in any sense of the word, be received as authority. All that need be observed here concerning it is, that in some points it differs from the other authorities previously named; but in none does that difference add to the probability of its genuineness, or appear likely to remove the scepticism of such as doubt of the existence and actions of this far-famed Castilian chief.

By no writer, prior to the thirteenth century, is Rodrigo de Bivar so much as named; and the slight mention made of him even in those of that period, are poor foundations for the amazing superstructure of fable which has been raised upon it. Let us hear all that the ancient chronicles, &c. say of this reputed baron and hero: —

1. "Æra 1137. (A. D. 1099.) obiit Rodericus Campidoctor." — *Chron. Burgense*, p. 309., which ends A. D. 1212.

2. "Æra 1084. (A. D. 1046.) Rodericus Comes." "Æra 1137. (A. D. 1099.) Rodericus Campidoctor." — *Annales Compost.*, which end in 1248.

3. "Priso Mio Cit Valencia, æra 1132." (A. D. 1094.) "Murio Mio Cid el Campiador en Valencia, æra 1137." (A. D. 1099.) — *Anales Toledanos*, I. p. 386., which come down to 1219, but seem to have been written at a subsequent period.

4. "Erat autem cum rege Sancio miles strenuus, dictus Rodericus Didaci Campiator. Hic regem devictum animans persuasit, ut quoad posset fugientem exercitum revocaret, et in aurora Legionensibus et Gallecis improvidis adveniret." — *Rodericus Toletanus*, lib. vi. cap. 16., who ended in 1243.

"Verum Rodericus Didaci Campiator, zelo Domini interfecti eum (the assassin of Sancho before Zamora), sine morâ, et ferè in ipsa urbis janua interfecit, sed velocitatem Bellidii non potuit prævenire." — *Ibid.* cap. 19.

"Sed cum nemo vellet ab eo recipere juramentum (that he, Alfonso, had in no degree been concerned in Sancho's death), ad recipiendum se obtulit

* Southey's Preface to the Chronicle of the Cid.

† The reader may see some curious remarks on this MS. in Masdeu, Historia Critica, tom. xx.

solus Rodericus Didaci Campiator. Unde et postea, licet strenuus, non fuit in ejus oculis gratiosus."—*Ibid.* cap. 21.

"In diebus ejus (Alfonso) Rodericus Didaci Compiator, qui ex causa quam diximus, non erat in ejus oculis gratiosus, conferta manu consanguineorum et militum aliorum, proposuit per se Arabes infestare. Cumque versus frontariam Aragoniæ pervenisset, congressus eum rege Petro Aragoniæ obtinuit contra eum, et etiam vivum cepit sed continuo manumisit. Et inde procedens, pervenit Valentiam, et obsedit. Cumque ad succursum Valentiæ Buchar rex Arabum cum exercitu advenisset, initio certamine obtinuit Rodericus, et Buchar fugit vix vitæ relictus, cæsa tamen ex suis multitudine infinita. Et incontinenti civitas se reddidit Roderico, et eam habuit quoad vixit," &c. *Ibid.* cap. 29.

5. Lucas Tudensis, who finished his history in 1236, with even greater brevity alludes to the advice of the Cid on Sancho's defeat, and to his conduct after that prince's assassination before Zamora.

Such is all that is to be found in the ancient chroniclers prior to Alonso el Sabio, and even that is mostly contradicted by authentic history. No Pedro king of Aragon was overcome by any Castilian general of those times; and Valencia was never in possession of the Christians until the reign of don Jayme el Conquistador. Equally opposed to true history is most of what is to be found in the Chronicles of the Cid, which so confounds events and times, as to be utterly worthless as a guide. That personage undertook no expedition into Andalusia; there was never any Almudafar king of Grenada, nor Almuctamir of Seville. Again, don Garcia of Gallicia was not imprisoned by Sancho of Castile, but by Alfonso of Leon. Even the genealogy, education, and marriage of the Cid can be proved to be as fabulous. Who was Layn Calvi, his fifth ancestor? According to Sampiro bishop of Astorga, a contemporary, Fernan Gonsalez was count of Castile in 932, and in 912 was known as the son of Gonsalo: how, then, as Risco's pretended history assures us, and as appears even from the Chronicle, could Nuño Rasuera, the father of Gonsalo, and the grandfather of Fernan Gonsalez, be proclaimed judge in 924? Again, Risco's history—and the circumstance is confirmed by the Chronicle—makes the Cid to have been educated at the court of don Sancho: now, if the Cid was born in 1026, he must have been near forty years of age when that prince, who reigned only seven years,—from 1065 to 1072,—ascended the throne. Risco's pretended authority marries this personage to one Eximena, daughter of count Didagus of Oviedo, and niece of Alfonso. Would the king, who hated him, says don Lucas, have given him a niece? In another account, his wife is said to have been the daughter of one Diego de Asturias. Equally contradictory is the date of this union, which is placed in the reigns of Fernando, Sancho, and Alfonso. In short, there is little but contradiction in all that is related of this far-famed hero,—little that is not opposed to authentic history.

If Rodrigo of Bivar performed such wonderful feats, if his existence attracted any notice, would contemporary writers, the monk of Silos, and Pelayo of Oviedo, of whom neither can be charged with a barren brevity, conceal his very name? This consideration alone is fatal to his historic fame,—perhaps even to his existence. Of that existence we have no proof: it is not mentioned prior to the thirteenth century; and there is reason to believe that it was derived from the popular ballads of the times. Yet we

would not positively deny the existence, however we may despise the fabulous deeds, of Rodrigo: there may have appeared in Castile some petty chief who obtained considerable local celebrity by his inroads among the Mohammedans; and who, therefore, like the subjects of our own ballads, may have been long commemorated in song. The most probable hypothesis, however, is, that there were several warriors of the name, and that the deeds of all, multiplied and exaggerated even in this case, have been ascribed to one only.

But if the Chronicle of the Cid, and the other accounts of his life and actions, must thus be rejected as historic authorities, they will always be esteemed as containing faithful representations of popular opinions and manners, — a subject of interest to every reflecting mind. Hence the Chronicle of the Cid, the Life and Death of King Arthur, Amadis de Gaul, and other works of the kind, ought never to fall into oblivion: he who first rescued them from the dust of libraries conferred a real obligation on the reading public. To the learned and eloquent translator or editor of these three works is the public of England equally indebted.

APPENDIX I. Page 193.

ALFONSO'S PUNISHMENT.

THE following curious account of Alfonso's punishment for his alleged blasphemy has never been noticed by any writer in this country. It is a translation of an extract made by Ortiz (Compendio Cronologica de la Historia de España, tom. iv. p. 184. Madrid, 1797), from a MS. in the Royal Library of Madrid: —

"On Saturday, April 2. æra 1332 (A. D. 1294), king don Alfonso having heard mass at the hour of tierce in the city of Seville, entered into his chamber, as he had long been wont, to pray before an image of St. Mary; and while he was praying, a sudden shining light filled the room, like unto the light of fire; and in this light appeared an angel's face, exceedingly beautiful. And when the king saw it he was much afraid, and he said, 'I conjure thee, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to tell me what thou art, — whether thou art a good or evil spirit!' And the angel answered. 'Fear not; a messenger am I unto thee, as thou wilt soon perceive. Well, thou knowest how, on such a day, being at table in this city, thou didst blaspheme, and say, that if thou hadst been with God the Father when he made the world and all things in it, thou couldst have mended many of them; and that many others would have been done which were not done. And God the Father was much offended with thy saying (supposing it possible for Him to be offended), and he was very wroth with thee; wherefore the Highest gave sentence against thee, to the effect that, since thou didst despise Him who made thee and gave thee honour among men, so shouldest thou be despised by thine own offspring, and shouldest be degraded from thine high estate, and in lowliness end thy days! Which sentence was revealed to an Augustine friar, while in his cell at Molina studying a sermon that he was to preach the following day. This friar told it in confession to his superior, and the superior to the infante don Manuel, who loves thee like his own soul. And in a week don Manuel came to this

city of Seville, and said to thee, "Tell me, I pray thee, whether thou didst ever speak so and so?" and thou repliedst, "that thou didst speak thus, and wouldst speak so again." Wherefore don Manuel was sore grieved, and exhorted thee to amend, and ask pardon of God; yet thou heardest him not. And for that thou mayest know how all power is from God the Father, and not from any other, the sentence is perfected and fulfilled. And moreover, in as much as thou hast cursed don Sancho thy son, because of the dishonour and rebellion and despite which he hath done thee, know thou for a surety that the Highest hath heard thy curse; — that all who spring from him shall sink lower and lower, with all their lordship, in such wise that some of them may wish the earth to open and swallow them up: and this shall last until the fourth generation from don Sancho thy son, when thy male heirs shall fail, and none shall remain to inherit this lordship; and the people shall be in grief and trouble, not knowing what counsel to follow. And all this dole shall be for thy sins and others, especially for the sin which thy son and those of the realm have committed in rising against thee. But the Highest shall send them salvation from the East, — a right noble king, and a good and a perfect one, and one endued with justice, and with all the great and noble things becoming a king. And he shall be fatherly to the people, in such wise that the living, and those even whose bones lie in the grave, shall bless God for his coming and for his goodness.* And he shall be aided by the High God, as he shall well merit; so his people shall forget their past sufferings, how great ones soever may befall them before that joyful day. Moreover, know thou for a surety, that by reason of thy continual prayers to the Glorious Mother of God, from seventeen years of age until now, she hath obtained from the Highest, that in thirty days hence thy soul depart from the world and enter purgatory, which is good hope; and in time, when the Highest shall see fit, it shall enter into glory everlasting!'

"And these words being said, the angel vanished: and the king was long afraid. Then he arose quickly, and opened the door of his cabinet, and he found in the room his four chaplains, who never forsook him; and he had great comfort with them in his sufferings, and in reckoning his hours with them: and he made them bring ink and paper, and he made them write down all which the angel had told him. And during the thirty days he confessed and communicated every third day; and except on Sundays, during the whole thirty days, he ate only three mouthfuls of bread in the week, and drank water only, and that no more than once a day. And he confirmed his last testament, and promoted his servants. And at the end of the thirty days, his soul departed according to the angel's warning, which he knew through the intercession of Our Lady the Virgin St. Mary."

Ortiz thinks it necessary to enter into a formal and lengthened refutation of the angel's visit, and to prove, from the style, the anachronisms, and other circumstances, that it must be a forgery. What must be the mental state of the society, when such a refutation is required?

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* This is probably intended for Fernando of Aragon, husband of Isabel; but the four generations are not very explicable. Ortiz will have it to mean Enrique the Bastard, brother and successor of Pedro the Cruel.

Don Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo, bishop of Valencia (in his Historia Hispana, lib. iv. cap. 5.), was the first to publish the apparition, but with many varying circumstances. He says that the angel appeared in a dream to one Pedro Martinez of Pampliega, of the household of the infante don Manuel; and that, by order of the celestial messenger, Pedro waited on the king at Burgos, who ridiculed the whole matter. Some days having passed, Alfonso went to Segovia, where he was troubled by another visit from a holy hermit, who exhorted him to repentance. The king having caused the messenger to be kicked out of the palace, there arose a furious storm, attended with thunder and lightning, which the night season rendered still more awful; the liquid element fell into the royal apartment, and consumed the queen's wardrobe. The terrified king immediately sent in search of the hermit, begged pardon of God, and confessed his impiety.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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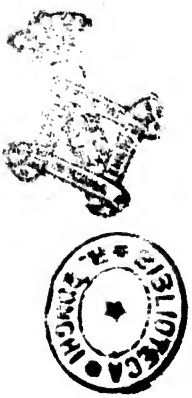

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